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ZAURO'NŌDOK AGAWAYO YAU: VARIANTS OF AKAWAIO SPOKEN AT WARAMADONG

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation is intended as a contribution to the study and understanding of how language is used among the Akawaio peoples of Guyana, South America. It is a first attempt, limited to one Amerindian village, Waramadong, a community that has not been studied very much. The study begins by analysing four Akawaio speech genres, tareng ‘ritual healing chant’, mire aburôbôdi ‘praising rhymes for children’, pandong ‘story’, and zegareme’nô ‘personal narratives’, at the levels of both content and grammar. The first entails making anthropological, ethnographical, sociolinguistic and general cultural commentaries on the content and social context within which speech is performed. This is to investigate how the Akawaio speech genres are categorised and classified and in what ways they are performed, interrelated and connected to the wider domain of speaking in Akawaio society. The second is committed to analysing the observed linguistic variation in the speech genres at the levels of both dialectal variation across speakers and stylistic variation across the genres.

The analysis takes a multidisciplinary approach, transcending traditional linguistic boundaries, and invoking both social and linguistic theories, especially in the analysis of Akawaio spirituality as a crucial component to understanding the native Akawaio view of speech genres. Thus, this study offers a primary description of a wider, extended view of what is known about language and culture in Akawaio society.
This dissertation also seeks to rectify a serious situation, to provide an emphatic counterexample to the common image in linguistics and anthropological literature, where Amerindian communities are treated as largely homogenous groups. The premise behind most anthropological and linguistic studies is that everyone acts and speaks alike within these societies. One aim of this study is to replace this homogenized image of the Amerindian with a richer, more complex and internally diverse picture, of the kind shown here for Waramadong. Appendix B presents a small, but representatively diverse, selection of transcribed, translated, and linguistically annotated texts, representing a small subset of the overall collection of texts recorded for this study.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 What the study is about

This dissertation emerges out of a study that was initiated in the summer of 1999 on the use of speech genres in the Akawaio spoken in the village of Waramadong, located in the hinterlands of Guyana, South America. The first objective was to collect text data on various genres, including myths and legends, personal narratives, healing chants, praising rhymes for children, conversational narratives, historical narratives, spiritual songs and recipes. However, counter to the expectations with which the field work began, the data showed substantial variation in the varieties of Akawaio spoken throughout Waramadong village. Understanding this variation therefore became the second objective of the study. More texts were collected in the fall of 2001 to verify and support the 1999 preliminary findings on Akawaio language variation.

The first task of this dissertation is to analyse the four selected Akawaio speech genres: (1) tareng ‘ritual blowing chants’; (2) mire aburöbödi ‘ritual praising rhymes for children’; (3) pandong ‘traditional stories’; and (4) zega reme’nödok ‘personal narratives’. These have been selected based on (a) the sufficiency of collected data of each type; (b) the rarity of the genre within present studies done in Guyanese Indigenous Amerindian communities and (c) the degree of variation observed, both across genres and in the grammar used within the genres. For example, stylistic variation is notable between tareng ritual blowing chants and praising rhymes, versus every day speech used in personal narratives and traditional stories.
The aim for analysing these Akawaio speech genres is to uncover the patterning of the Akawaio language as one that goes far beyond the laws of grammar, so as to understand the use of speech in Akawaio social life. Therefore, the genres will be analysed in their widest social and cultural context in order to attempt the discovery of culturally relevant features of variation. The strategy therefore, is to detail Akawaio norms of communication limited to the four Akawaio speech genres, by focusing on verbal, non-verbal and social parameters of interaction within Akawaio society. The components of speaking to which attention is paid include: who the participants are, meaning who are the speakers and hearers within the speech performance; which codes, if any, are unique to these participants; what are the channels used for communicating; what are the social settings or context within which the speech act is performed; and what are the forms of speaking. This is to clarify whether the speech is a conversation, story, ritual chant or political oratory, what are the topics of the speech and how are hearers reacting to these topics in the sense of Hymes (1974: 9). The reason is to pinpoint the cultural specificity of the rules governing Akawaio ways of speaking.

While components of the Akawaio speech genres will be studied separately and individually, it will be shown that these speech events within Akawaio culture tend to be integrated occurrences because many aspects of their components are interdependent and interpenetrating. For example, the social context/setting within which the speech event takes place is ‘the arena for action’, both in a physical and social sense (Bonvillian 2000: 80). This means that the social contexts or settings are an important aspect of defining specific events and kinds of occasions that require certain kinds of behaviour. Thus, speech events are classified according to their demand for relevant settings, which then
allows a classification of their social status as either belonging to a formal or an informal speech category.

This is an important reason why there is need to determine what kinds of decisions are made by the Akawaio people about classifying their speech events since these decisions tend to be culture-specific. Speaking, in this sense, is viewed as a part of a cultural system. Therefore, the basis from which this study takes off is the idea that Waramadong village is a speech community, a community where individuals share mutually complementary knowledge and ability of its members for the production and interpretation of socially appropriate speech as envisaged by Bauman & Sherzer (1974:8). By virtue of this, Waramadong village is seen as being diverse, since the knowledge and the ability to speak -- that is, access to and command of resources for speaking -- are seen as being distributed differently among community members. This has resulted in great variability in the production and interpretation of the Akawaio speech genres under study.

The approach that is taken to analyse the speech genres is centred around two issues. First, the complete absence of any study on Akawaio speech classification systems requires redress. And such a study cannot be done well if one ignores the outline of a complete structured Akawaio cultural domain. Even so, this study is not poised to analyse exhaustively all the defining components of Akawaio ways of speaking on each level of contrast. Rather, the focus is on Akawaio spirituality as one of the main components of this domain, upon which the Akawaio philosophy of language is based. The Akawaios believe that speech has its origins in this spiritual philosophy, which in turn is seen as a guide to how speech is classified in Akawaio society. The aim, therefore, is to analyse the
Akawaio speech genres first from a spiritual standpoint, to determine how they are classified and to provide outsider with a very descriptive sketch of what this classification looks like from the inside. In addition, the study will show in what relevant ways speech genres impact upon each other. However, in the end this analysis must be partial, as it reflects the sole interpretation of the investigator, who does not feel that there yet is enough representative data to warrant the construction of a comprehensive classification of Akawaio vocabulary and ways of speaking.

Second, the investigator opposed the idea that a complete theoretical analysis can be posed by this study (or any other) in the present time. This is because the attempt to explain Akawaio thought on ways of speaking through conventional western scientific theories is more likely to obscure than to clarify the gist of the Akawaio philosophy of speech. This is particularly because speaking for the Akawaio is not well defined and there is no clearly bounded body of knowledge for analysing Akawaio 'ways of speaking'. This is why it is very much an open system, with no established models for classification. Further, as an unwritten language with no tradition of literary analysis, Akawaio has no cover terms for the native concepts that might correspond to Western genres. The constant change and evolution of an unwritten language lead to its openness and imprecision (idea taken from Stross 1974:213, in which he outlines the inability to analyse and define Tenejapa Tzeltal speech). This limitation is at the core of the inability at this time to contain and describe Akawaio speech forms through formal ethnographic descriptions.

The second task of this dissertation explores the linguistic variation encountered within the Akawaio language at Waramadong. The text data collected both in the summer
of 1999 and fall 2001, and in previous spontaneous conversations with the residents, showed a substantial variation in the varieties of Akawaio spoken throughout Waramadong village. Speakers here knew about this variation, and it presumably contributed to their strong perception of Waramadong as a community that was divided into four distinct sections, consisting of (1) Enemoroji'pai, (2) Samawa'pai, (3) Abamang and (4) Wayawa'pai. Each of these sections are clearly settled by different groups of Akawaio people with different identities, who speak different varieties of Akawaio. According to the residents, this situation is created by their family histories, the ancestral backgrounds which they claim to have. This situation has never attracted the attention of linguistic researchers, and the Guyana government continues to officially view Waramadong as a homogenous Akawaio speech community.

One aim in this study is to pinpoint the social and historical factors that have created and maintained such a large degree of patterns of linguistic variation in such a small community. There are three to five varieties of Akawaio spoken today within the Waramadong community, roughly corresponding to the geographic division between the individual neighbourhoods: Enemoroji'pai, Samawa'pai, Abamang and Wayawa'pai. Inhabitants strongly linked this situation to such social indicators as history of the village, ancestral backgrounds, social group membership and communication networks. This is consistent with sociolinguistic studies that have demonstrated that diversification arises when speakers are separated either geographically or due to social barriers (Burling 1992:66). This kind of linguistic difference feeds on extended separation and differences between people within a speech community of the sort that give way to the development of dialects.
How variation and dialects can present themselves within speech communities can be very different and culture specific, as shown by Labov’s (1966) studies on the social dialects of New York and his (1972) study of the recent history of some dialect markers on the island of Martha’s Vineyard. The present study also support this same conclusion.

Like Burling, Wolfram and Schillings-Estes (1992:2) define dialects as any variety of a language which is shared by a group of speakers; because languages are invariably manifested through their dialects, it is safe to say that to speak a language is to speak some dialect of that language. The technical usage of the term ‘dialect’ contains no particular social or attitudinal evaluations, does not allude to a good or bad dialect but simply to any language variety that typifies a group of speakers within a language. This is important, since the general usage of the term ‘dialect’ usually refers to those people who speak differently to oneself, and often carries a pejorative connotation. (This is especially true in discussing native Amerindian languages, where the national language and most immigrant groups are said to speak ‘languages’, whereas the Indians all speak ‘dialects.’) In this sense one group’s customary way of speaking becomes another group’s peculiarity. The way dialect is viewed in this study is influenced by Wolfram and Schillings-Estes’ technical usage and like the dialectologists, this study takes the position that dialects are not deviant forms of language, but simply different systems, with distinct subsets of language patterns.

As discussed in the next section, acknowledgement of dialectal variation in South American Indian languages is difficult to encounter in the literature, and this study will be among the first to do a serious exploration of such variation.
1.2 The Difference Between This Study and Previous Studies

This study can be contrasted with previous studies in four major categories: (1) studies done in Lowland South America on the ethnography of speaking; (2) general studies done in sociolinguistics; (3) Cariban language studies in Lowland South America and (4) studies done specifically on the Akawaios in Guyana, within the disciplines of Anthropology, Ethnography and core linguistics. The remainder of this section treats each of these groups in turn.

First, in the study of the ethnography of speaking in Lowland South America, two major sources of these studies were consulted: Native South American Discourse, edited by Joel Sherzer and Greg Urban (1986) and Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking, edited by Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer (1974). These two books constantly directed the study because they gave ideas for organising, analysing and presenting the data on the Akawaio speech genres.

The studies in the first volume concern themselves with various aspects of the way in which speech is organized and classified within Amerindian societies, both in textual terms and in the labelling and structuring of speech as having poetic and rhetorical features which can be presented as units in actual performances (Sherzer & Urban 1986:6). In general the studies within this volume reflect a variety of Lowland South American verbally artistic forms and performances, and the various techniques for representing, translating and analysing them. More importantly, the studies seek to view Native South American discourse in its social and cultural context in order to understand the social, cultural, verbal and aesthetic worlds of Lowland South America.
The first departure of this study is from Sherzer and Urban's objectives for their study on Native South American discourse. Their studies focus on the aesthetic features in the structuring of speech in order to determine whether they have poetic and rhetorical features. In contrast, this study seeks to uncover the antecedents of the Akawaio worldview, to determine what bearing they may have on Akawaio definitions and organisation of speech, and on the types of language used within the individual contexts within which speech is performed. Also, it explores to what extent these performances are expressions for defining Akawaio culture and its continuity. How are they similar or dissimilar and in what ways are their functions integrated? All these aspects contribute to an understanding of how Akawaio speech is organised, classified and defined. Thus, the analysis of Akawaio speech genres in this dissertation goes beyond the aesthetic function of speech in Akawaio society.

In a very concerned way, this is the point of departure because as a Native Akawaio experiencer of the culture, The researcher is aware that there exists a spiritual philosophy of language within which speech is defined in Akawaio society. It is the belief that such a philosophy can assist this study in the attempt to understand, organise, analyse and classify the Akawaio speech genres selected for the study. It also assists in explaining and understanding the grammatical features of Akawaio, which is might otherwise only be scrutinised from an abstract point of view, following the strict directives of theoretical core linguistics.

Nevertheless, such studies as the ones done by Greg Urban on the Shokleng Origin Myth, Anthony Seeger on Suya Oratory, Myth and Song, Joel Sherzer on the Kuna Curing Specialist and Harriet Klein proved useful to this study, as the Akawaio
data presented numerous parallels (see exposition in Chapter 4). For example, some aspects of Anthony Seeger’s analysis of the Suya healing chants, *sangere*, were very similar to the analysis of the Akawaio healing chants, *tareng*, providing the basis for comparing and contrasting the elements of these chants within the two cultures. For instance, Seeger asserted that Suya curing songs *sangere* operated through an intricate system of metaphors. The central element of a *sangere* is the insertion of an attribute of an animal, plant, or other natural object into the body of a human in order to give a particular body part or function the properties of the animal. Thus, when a Suya child was sick with high fever resulting in convulsions, the curing song *sangere* for this condition names the white caiman. This is because the caiman is one that lies very still in the water without a tremor and never gets hot. Therefore, naming this reptile in the *sangere* during its administration will give the feverish child the quietness and coolness of the caiman (Seeger 1986:70).

Similarly, among the Akawaio, the most important elements of the *tareng* ‘ritual healing chant’ are the metaphoric characteristics of animals, birds, insects, reptiles, plants, fishes and natural phenomena. The rationale is to chose creatures or things that are the best exemplar of having a healthy state of body or body parts. Thus, when an Akawaio is suffering from a toothache, the *tareng* for this condition names the *mabarua* ‘otter’, who is known to eat fishes of all kinds and yet still have perfectly good teeth and never suffers from toothache. Hence, when the *tareng* naming the waterdog is administered to one that is suffering from toothache, the pain subsides, emulating the state of the otter’s tooth, that does not hurt because his teeth are always healthy. Thus, because the Akawaio *tareng* chants operate in so similar a nature to the
Suya *sangere* chants, Seeger's work on the Suya provides an important point of reference and comparison for the study on Akawaio *tareng* chants.

The main focus of the second book, Bauman & Sherzer (1974), was to make the point that something is missing in the full understanding of language, and this missing piece is beyond the scope of the conventional parameters of linguistics. Thus, the new discipline known as the ethnography of speaking was to concern itself with recognising that there were patterns and functions of speech which were not taken into account in grammars, ethnographies and other kinds of research. The idea was that ethnography of speaking, as constantly shown in the studies within this volume, defines speaking as a theoretically and practically crucial aspect of human social life, a recognition which points to the missing link in both linguistic descriptions and ethnographies.

Because Sherzer and Bauman's volume is aimed at experimenting in exploring and establishing the methods and scope of the ethnography of Speaking; it is very useful to this study in the ways it has articulated, through the various studies, the parameters of how to organise and present speech data. Also, in a very important way, it has attempted to take sample studies from everywhere in the world, presenting a multicultural approach to the study of the ways of speaking. This being the general profile of this volume, one can only find parallels to Akawaio in some studies, such as the ones by James Fox on Rotinese views of language, Elinor Keenan on uses of speech by men and woman in a Malagasy Community, Anne Salmond on Rituals of Encounter among the Maori, Biran Stross on Tenejapa Tzeltal Metalinguistics, Joel Sherzer on the three types of kuna Speech Event, Victoria Bricker on The Ethnographic Context of Some Traditional Mayan Speech Genres and Gary Gossen on Chamula Cannons of style and good performance.
For instance, Gossen’s work on the way the Chamulas evaluate speaking from the spiritual definitions of heat in the Chamula cosmos is paralleled by the exploration here of Akawaio spiritual notions of speech. While the Chamulas are preoccupied with ‘heat’ within their cosmos as an explanation for speech, the Akawaios are preoccupied with the notion of ‘the person’, how this is defined and, within this definition, how speaking is identified and classified (see Chapter 2 for elaborations).

The second major area with which to contrast this study is against general works in sociolinguistics. During the earlier emergence of sociolinguistics, studies out of areas within the United states, Great Britain and Europe focussed on societal divisions which were based mostly on class and race. For example, studies based on class included Milroy and Milroy (1992) on Class and Network Analysis, Labov’s (1966) Study on the social stratification of English in New York City, Trudgill’s (1974b) study on the interconnections between social stratification and language in Great Britain, and Macauley’s (1976) study on speech of residents of Glasgow. Studies that consider race include Labov (1982), Baugh (1983), Wolfram (1969) and Edwards (1992). Finally, Gumperz (1971) studied caste and the use of speech in Khalapur in North India (Bonvillian 2000: 132-143). While caste is a socially labelled and overtly recognized, sociolinguistic studies based on class were structured on the basis of more covert indicators of economic, political and social status, as indicated by factors like occupation, income and education. (Bonvillian 2000: 135). Presently this sociolinguistic approach which alludes to divisions and variation based on race, class and caste is no longer strictly held in sociolinguistics. Rather, the approach has now shifted to considering social identity as one of the main social indicators that can lead to societal divisions and
language variation. In comparison, this study is not only considering social identities in
the Amerindian village of Waramadong, as the basis for social distinctions and language
variation but also sees it as emerging from a very different type of societal organisation,
one that is based on community and interpersonal social organisation. This type of social
organisation is based on social networks that are held together through consensus in the

This study shows that the Akawaio language variation at Waramadong correlates
extensively with the speaker’s sense of self, and that this sense of self is largely based on
whether they were migrants from a particular Akawaio community within the Upper
Mazaruni District, or from Venezuela or the borders of Brazil, and whether they had
ancestors with non-Akawaio backgrounds or whether they belong to a particular
neighbourhood inside of Waramadong.

The third major difference between this study and previous work can be seen in
comparison with traditional linguistic studies done on the Cariban languages in Lowland
South America. Such studies include Hoff’s (1968) study on the Carib language of
Suriname by Hoff and Cariban studies done in the Handbook of Amazonian languages,
volumes 1, 3 and 4, edited by Desmond Derbyshire and Geoffrey Pullum 1986, 1991 and
1998 respectively. In volume 1, Koehn and Koehn (1986) give an extensive grammar
sketch of the Apalai language in Brazil; in volume 3, Abbott (1991) gives a grammatical
sketch of the Makushi language (mostly) of Brazil; and in volume 4, Hawkins (1998)
gives a grammatical sketch of the Wai-Wai language, also (mostly) of Brazil. Then there
are the studies done on the Taurepang (Pemón) language of Venezuela, notably
Armellada and Olza (1994) and Álvarez (1995) on the grammar of Pemón; Miera’s

These works are very different from this study because their main approach is based on core linguistics. While they generally acknowledge the existence of dialectal variation, with the possible exception of Meira, they do not systematically identify the range of variation, nor do they identify the situations where language variation might have been encountered within the various Cariban communities studied. In contrast, this study begins by examining Akawaio ways of speaking using a multidisciplinary approach within a wider context. This has resulted in combining methods from various disciplines, including core linguistics, to examine speech beyond just speaking.

All the studies mentioned are useful in establishing ideas about methods for analysing the Akawaio grammatical data and presenting a grammar sketch of this language, which is also Cariban. This is why it is particularly important to compare the grammatical sketches on the Taurepang, Arekuna and Makushi with the proposed Grammatical sketch developed by this study. These three are the closest to spoken Akawaio, and tend to present similar grammatical components. Also, these studies provided the first reasonably comprehensive documentation of these languages, in each case contributing one more Cariban language for academic scrutiny and future comparative research. For the Cariban tribes themselves, this is more than they can do to save their own languages from constant pressures from mainstream societies that overrun them. In a general sense, documenting languages of the Amazon basin is a major contribution to their survival and to the improvement of the existing situation, where there is great urgency to document them.
Finally, the fourth area of studies to contrast with this study is in comparison with previous studies done specifically on the Akawaios in Guyana, which fall within the fields of Anthropology, ethnography and core linguistics.

The single greatest influence in this area comes from Dr. Audrey Butt-Colson, the British anthropologist from Oxford University who studied the Akawaios in 1954 as a requirement for her PhD thesis. Her study was entitled; ‘Systems of Beliefs in Relation to Social Structure and Organisation with Reference to the Carib Speaking Tribes of the Guianas’. She published additional writings about the Akawaios in Butt-Colson (1967, 1971, 1973 and 1983). As an anthropologist, Butt-Colson focused on the general aspects of Akawaio life, while analysing the language in a very different way. Like most anthropologists, she sought to uncover in what ways Akawaio social structure is organised. She observed self-identities among families, family feuds as expressed in the use of the Kanaimô killers to maintain the status quo, and life in general among Akawaio communities within the Upper Mazaruni District. She arrived at many interesting conclusions about the relationships and self identities across Akawaio communities within this area.

For example, she found that there were names developed by the Akawaios to refer to residents that belong to a particular Akawaio village in the Mazaruni. Hence, those who lived at Kamarang were called kamranigok ‘tribe from Kamarang’, those from Kukui, kukuigoks ‘tribe from Kukui’ and those from Kako, kagorgoks ‘tribe from Kako’ and so on (Butt Colson 1954). This information remains useful to this study because it assists in the understanding of Akawaio self identities at a wider level, at the level of individual village perceptions within Akawaio communities in the Upper Mazaruni
District. This information shed a lot of light on where the self perceptions and self identities that exist in Waramadong might have begun, since some of the residents link themselves directly to ancestors from either Kukui, Kako or Kamarang.

Unlike Butt-Colson’s focused approach on the social Anthropology of a geographically diverse spectrum of Akawaio society, this study has chosen to look at a geographically focused slice of Akawaio society from all angles. For this reason, this study embraces a multidisciplinary approach. Thus, while the main commonality for analysis begins within the Akawaio speech community, because it is seen as an organised system of communicative events by both Butt-Colson and this study, they take different paths from that point of departure.

This study addresses the Akawaio language variation at Waramadong by focusing on the differences between speech situations and social distinctions within the community through the analysis of four Akawaio speech genres. This is assessed through residents’ definitions of self, where they came from, and who their ancestors were, which in turn has impacted on which neighbourhoods they belong to. Thus, this study correlates language behaviour with other social factors, which is the essence of the sociolinguistic approach.

In another approach, this study follows in the tradition of the ethnography of speaking by exploring the elements that allow for the comprehension of the organisation of speaking in social life. It is particularly interested in the relevant aspects of speaking that make up the cultural system. In this sense, the Akawaio speech genres are under scrutiny to determine general Akawaio community norms, ground rules for speaking, and the strategies and values that guide production and interpretation of speech. All of this
then leads to the understanding of how these elements organise and classify speech in Akawaio society.

Considering just these two approaches, it should already be clear that this study takes a holistic approach to the research question, and does not just centre around the parameters of one approach, like Butt-Colson’s anthropological work. In other ways, the convergence with her approach is in the anthropological techniques used for gathering the Akawaio data for this study. The investigator doing this study made observations of Akawaio daily lives in order to understand Akawaio behaviour from a participant point of view. The major difference here is that Butt-Colson was an ‘outsider’ participant observer who spent time growing into the role of being an ‘insider’ as she studied the Akawaio. In contrast, the researcher doing this study began an ‘insider’ native Akawaio, and subsequently learned how to play the role of participant observer.

One way in which Butt-Colson’s work has been of value to this study is the contribution it has made to the ethnography of the Akawaio people (see Chapter 2), and in understanding and assessing the social and other changes which have taken place in Akawaio society after the 49 year period of her study. Butt-Colson’s anthropological study of the Akawaios continues to be the most important and extensive work on the Akawaio, still offering the only comprehensive record of Akawaio culture even though it was completed almost 50 years ago, in 1954.

A second point of departure for this study is the work of French anthropologist Alain Fournier, who published a study in 1979 entitled *Waramadong: A case study for Amerindian settlement in the Upper Mazaruni Area, Guyana*. This is the only known comprehensive anthropological and ethnographic study on Waramadong. Fournier was
the anthropologist employed by the Guyana hydro-electric project to study the legitimacy of protest by Akawaios seeking to save their territory from being flooded by a proposed hydro-electric dam. His stated objective was to focus on the cohesiveness among the Akawaios at Waramadong, with the goal of evaluating how they would respond to resettling in one place with other tribal neighbours such as the Arekunas. In the absence of great cohesion, he was to determine what factors might be crucial for social cohesion within prospective resettled Akawaio communities.

His study never mentioned the heterogeneous nature of Waramadong, but alluded to the fact that all the Akawaios at Waramadong were migrants and were recent inhabitants of the Upper Mazaruni District. Thus, he traced their history from secondary sources in the libraries and official government documents, culminating in a historical overview of the Akawaios that was very extensive. While he recognised that the early ancestors of Waramadong were from everywhere in Guyana and neighbouring countries, such as Venezuela and Brazil, he never mentioned the dialectal variation that existed as a result of all these factors. One of his findings saw the church as being the basis for family feuds, church politics and conflict at Waramadong. He also found that the people at Waramadong were passionately and aggressively opposed to the idea of the hydroelectric project, as well as to resettlement in any community, whether pure Akawaio or a mixed Akawaio/Arekuna community. This bit of information is particularly useful to this study since it gives other reasons for understanding why Akawaios harboured certain attitudes towards people of their own kind and other people. It also gives clues to why Akawaios at Waramadong continue to segregate themselves by sections within the village of Waramadong.
Clearly, the work of Fournier is very different from the work in this study. First, it was an anthropological case study, but with specific parameters and non-intellectual goals. In contrast, this study began as a study of Akawaio speech genres, based on recorded data collected in 1999. The parameters for the study then expanded to the study of factors that might explain the observed variation, leading to the study of Waramadong as a heterogeneous speech community, whose various dialects of Akawaio were to be studied through analysis of recorded speech. This study has also retained the original goal, to analyse various types of genre to observe how speech is organised within Akawaio society. Also, this study does not solely rely on the official definitions of Waramadong as Fournier did, but takes into consideration the Akawaio people’s own oral accounts and definitions of Waramadong.

The main contributions made to this dissertation by Fournier’s work is in the area of gathering information on the history and ethnography of the Akawaio people at Waramadong. He gives background to intra-group relations within this village, and some insights into the culture and political and social organisation of Waramadong in the late 1970s.

Another study that can be contrasted to this one is the very recent work of American anthropologist Sue Staats, who lived among the Akawaios at Chinau Yeng, Guyana, for over three years. Sue is presently writing up this study as her doctoral dissertation at Indiana University in Bloomington. The title of her dissertation is ‘Communicative Ideologies in (Akawaio) Kapon Religious Discourse’. Her work focuses mainly on the Akawaio areruya maing/maiyin ‘Hallelujah speech/songs’, which play an important role in the semi-Christianised allelujah church ceremonies (see Chapter 2).
Staats’ work is different from mine because she focuses mainly on one type of Akawaio speech form, the Akawaio *areruya maiyin/maing* ceremonial and religious songs. However, it is also similar to some aspects of this study, since she is exploring the spiritual definitions of these songs, the ways in which these songs represent Akawaio communicative ideologies, what are these ideologies and how they are classified.

In terms of her thoughts on variation in the Akawaio language, she says (in personal communication) only that the Akawaio spoken within the Chinau Yeng village shows dialectal variation, and that she was told that the Akawaio she was learning to speak was not good Akawaio, according to other families within Chinau Yeng. Also, she pointed out that my present study on the Akawaio language variation was complicated by the fact that there seems to be variation in all the individual Akawaio communities. This bit of information was useful to this study, since it adds to the understanding of why there is so much controversy among Akawaios in communities in the Upper Mazaruni District about who speaks ‘real’ Akawaio. A review of some *hallelujah maing* songs that Staats sent to the investigator showed that the Akawaio language spoken there is indeed different from the Akawaio spoken elsewhere in the Upper Mazaruni. There were both grammatical and lexical items that appear to be more conservative (i.e. to resemble something more like Proto-Carib).

Another study that is different from this study was the one initiated by Walter Edwards, a Guyanese sociolinguist who was mandated to describe the Akawaio and Arekuna languages. His approach was mainly core linguistics and ethnography, and he focused on publishing dictionaries and general word lists of these languages. These were supplemented with short articles on the ethnography of the Akawaio peoples in a
publication called BALP (Bulletin of the Amerindian Languages Project). He also submitted grammatical descriptions on the Akawaio and Arekuna languages to foreign academic journals such as Mankind Quarterly, the International Journal of American Linguistics, and Anthropological linguistics. Although he is a sociolinguist, none of Edwards' work pointed out the variation in Akawaio as a problem of note, so this study is very different from the studies done by him, although he was a sociolinguist.

The contribution of Edwards' work to this study is evident in the section on the ethnography of the Akawaio, the grammar sketch of Akawaio and the linguistic evidence for the variation, which can be partially determined from the lexical items published in the dictionary of the Akawaio and Arekuna languages.

In conclusion, the main difference between this study and all the studies discussed in this section is based on who is doing the study. This is the first time that an attempt has been made by a native Akawaio to analyse an Akawaio community as an insider. And across lowland South America, this appears to be the first in-depth study, of either an ethnographic or a linguistic nature, to be carried out by a true insider, a native Amerindian member of the tribe under study. On the one hand, this means that I had access to data that might not have been made available to outsiders. In fact, most of the recorded conversations with the older Akawaio were only possible because I was one of their own, who had watched grow up in their own village. And because I grew up as an Akawaio, in an Akawaio community, my view of life was shaped by the same everyday experiences that shaped their lives. For this reason, even though there is no tradition of explicit teaching about Akawaio spirituality, or any discussion of ideas like 'genre', many
of the analytical ideas that came to me seemed to be obvious, and it was like second nature to talk about the Akawaio speech genres under study.

I do not want to arrogantly assert that I see things in my home community that no outsider could see, or that I understand my own culture in a way that no outsider possible could. But it is true that researchers tend to find things that they go looking for, and the starting point for my search has probably been very different from the starting point of an outsider. And analysts tend to organize the world into categories that are intuitively natural, with their intuitions shaped by their life experiences. The life experience that shapes my intuitions helped me to find what seem like the most natural Akawaio categories, both in spiritual terms and in terms of the division of speech acts into genres. Of course my intuitions could not be the same as all the Akawaios at Waramadong, but our life experiences are so much more similar to each other’s than they would be to a European or American researcher that I feel safe asserting that we all have experienced pretty much the same Akawaio culture. So even though my experience is unique in Waramadong, as an Akawaio who left the village and got a western education, I believe my intuitions as discussed in this dissertation would also represent the views of other Akawaios at Waramadong.

1.3 Aims and Scope of the Study

The methods of sociolinguistics are well established in the study of European languages, but have almost never been applied in the study of Native American languages of lowland South America. This is due to several factors, among which three are particularly relevant to this study.
First, researchers have been primarily interested in writing descriptions of an idealized grammar, as though the speech of any one individual would be sufficient to characterize the entire ‘speech community’. This approach to language permeates both formal and functional approaches to linguistics, as seen in the most frequently used methodology, elicitation of translations and grammaticality judgments from a single sophisticated native speaker. Even where native speakers do the linguistic analysis, the emphasis is on capturing relevant examples from the single representative of the ‘speech community’ and at best passing mentioned is paid to variation. In contrast, this study is based on linguistic data collected in oral interviews with forty different speakers – just under 5% of the total population of the village of Waramadong. The variation that was originally observed in their spontaneous discourse was distilled into a questionnaire that was administered as part of eight additional interviews. Thus, the variation described in this study is not based merely on elicited intuitions, nor is it limited to a handful of speakers.

Second, most sociolinguistic studies depart from a good description and/or understanding of some ‘basic’ or ‘standard’ version of the language. But such descriptions do not exists for most of the native languages of South America. Further, most of these languages do not even have an explicit ‘standard’ version until the first descriptive grammars are written, and these grammars do not necessarily represent any standard that would be recognized within the speech communities -- the grammar will be no more authoritative than the source of the linguists’ data, and few linguists have the sophistication or the good fortune to select a representative of the dominant dialect. In this case the Akawaio language has no published reference grammar, nor is there any
other documentation that will help to establish a sense of 'standard Akawaio'. However, the author is a native Akawaio speaker, raised in Waramadong itself, and as such brings a unique ability to recognize the variation in the interview data, and to present that variation in this study. In this latter task, the author benefits from work in progress on a reference grammar of Akawaio, in collaboration with Professor Spike Gildea of the University of Oregon.

Finally, most of the indigenous languages in South America do not have contact with well-trained linguists capable of writing basic descriptions, much less to trained sociolinguists who could bring modern methodologies to attempt a study of variation. The closest thing that is encountered to trained linguists in the South American Context--especially Guyana--is usually the missionary who has received a couple of summers of basic linguistics, with an emphasis on the skills necessary to develop a writing system and then to translate the Bible, both tasks that require standardization, rather than an appreciation of the diversity to be found in the Amerindian communities. This study therefore would not have happened except that the author is a native speaker of Akawaio who grew up in the village under study and is a trained descriptive linguist. Hence, the linguistic data was collected by a participant observer, and the preliminary analysis would not have been possible without at least near-native competence in Akawaio, for example to distinguished between patterned variation and performance 'mistakes'. So one of the goals of this paper is to offer a reliable snapshot of the variation in the Akawaio language in Waramadong village today.

While this study of traditional Akawaio speech genres and the variation in the Akawaio language at Waramadong is based on primary data, it is still exploratory in
many ways. The original goal was not to explore variation, and so the population sample was not carefully controlled to be representative of the entire village, nor is there any way to claim that this particular village is representative of any larger ‘speech community’, such as an ‘Akawaio nation’. A fuller treatment would lend itself to collecting data over the course of perhaps several years, following migration patterns through all the seasons, to collect a large enough quantity of data to allow quantitative correlation between variation and social factors.

This raises the question of definitions of the social factors that are to be used to explain the variation. The traditional linguistic study isolates social factors such as age, gender, and such indicators as socio-economic status within a single geographic region, none of which turn out to be relevant to the observed variation at Waramadong (although of course there is other variation, only anecdotally observed, that does seem to correlate with age, and there could easily be variation not yet observed that would be sensitive to gender). Instead, the variation seems to correlate mostly with a speaker’s sense of self, based on (i) having immigrated to Waramadong from a particular Akawaio community in Guyana, Venezuela or the borders between Brazil and Guyana, (ii) having ancestors and relatives from non-Akawaian backgrounds, and (iii) belonging to a particular neighbourhood inside Waramadong, with more intensive social and economic ties to other members of that neighbourhood than to the village as a whole. In this sense, the author’s background in sociology and anthropology led her to focus on a more qualitative understanding of the larger social context, a vision of social networks embodied in the oral histories and personal narratives as told by the speakers themselves. Therefore, in this study, the explanation of linguistic variation attempts to capture the spirit of the
indigenous community as a whole, rather than breaking the social factors into discrete categories.

The main task of this dissertation is to analyse the Akawaio speech genres at two levels content and grammar. The first entails making anthropological, ethnographical, sociological, sociolinguistic and general cultural commentaries on the content and context of the selected Akawaio speech genres. The second is committed to analysing linguistic variation in the Akawaio data at two different levels: dialectal variation and variation across the genres. More specifically, this dissertation seeks to address: (a) what are the means of speaking available to Akawaio community members; (b) within this context, how and why do the traditional Akawaio speech genres get counted as distinct ‘means of speaking’; (c) what are the linguistic varieties, codes and subcodes that are used by Akawaio speakers to sanction what counts as speech and (d) what are the means of speaking that enable the distribution of what constitutes the linguistic repertoires of the Akawaio community members, such as speech acts and genres for the conduct of speaking (in the sense of Bauman & Sherzer 1974).

Also, an additional task of this study is to show how the notion of social networks (in the sense of Milroy and Milroy 1992, 1978, 1980) is fundamental to understanding the linguistic variation, and that these networks, combined with the linguistic variation, allowed for the identification, inside the single village of Waramadong, of three separate ‘speech communities’, one containing a separate ‘community of practice.’ Therefore, aside from the linguistic contributions, a primary contribution of this study is showing the application of these concepts to Amerindian communities, which turn out to be no more homogenous than their European counterparts.
1.4 Relevance and Significance

This study is relevant for its contribution to several areas. First, it begins to help fill the gap that exists in serious sociolinguistic studies on South American Indian languages. In this way it attempts to rectify the common image in linguistic and anthropological literature of Amerindian communities as homogenous groups, where everyone acts and speaks alike. It replaces the homogenized image of the Amerindian with a richer, more complex and internally diverse picture of at least one Akawaio village, Waramadong.

Second, this picture contributes to the general understanding of the documented and oral history and culture of the Akawaio people. For this study, particular attention is paid to the oral history of Waramadong as told by six Akawaio elders, who recounted events in both historical and personal narratives.

Third, along with the history, this study serves to document some of the ancient traditional Akawaio speech genres, particularly the Akawaio ritual healing chants and the praising rhymes that are virtually unknown, and certainly have never before been documented. This is exciting, because these genres are very important to Akawaio culture, but it is sad at the same time, because these traditions are on the decline and have been for many decades. For instance, nowadays, praising rhymes are hardly ever used and it was nostalgic to know that older Akawaio mothers still use them today. The *tareng* ‘ritual blowing’ or ‘healing chants’ are among the most sacred rites of the Akawaios and they are not randomly accessible to the young, or for that matter to anyone. They are the sacred domain of those Akawaio elders who have attained the spiritual maturity to deal
with the dual responsibility that must be undertaken before their use: to know the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ tareng. the good for healing a variety of illnesses and the bad so one can recognise the difference between normal illness and illnesses caused by bad tareng. In addition, knowing bad tareng give the clues to counteracting its dangerous effects. Sadly, at the present time Akawaio elders are dying out and in the process they carry with them many of the undocumented healing chants. Besides their general use and their cultural value, the healing chants contain different speech forms, which may give clues to the puzzling linguistic questions asked about a proto Akawaio language.

Fourth, this study contributes to the general understanding of the dynamics of social conflicts and group solidarity that arise from people’s social and linguistic self-definitions, situations that can lead to language variation.

Much of the value of this study lies in the contribution of a native speaker linguist to the study of an Amerindian language. The importance of this insider status to the understanding of Amerindian languages and cultures cannot be overstated. In this instance, it must be appreciated that the native Akawaio investigator conducting this study did not rely on her native speaker intuitions; rather in the quest for understanding the Akawaio language as it is seen by a larger community, she insisted on engaging in field research in Guyana, in the Akawaio village of Waramadong, the place of her birth, to record and collect text data. This was done in order to get the perspectives of other Akawaio speakers.

Thus, the native investigator acted as an ‘insider’, or a participant observer, a method of scientific research commonly used by most social scientists. But then the linguistic intuitions of a native speaker, and the acculturation of the child raised in the
village, are available in this study to help in the analysis of the collected texts, both the content and the linguistic forms. A review of literature has encountered no other linguistic or anthropological studies in Guyana – or in all of lowland south America – done by a native Amerindian linguist.

Finally, the study attempts to apply standard labels from the sociolinguistic literature to groups in Amerindian communities, especially concepts such as dialects, speech communities, communities of practice, speech acts, genres, performance and discourse analysis.

Within the field of linguistics, there are three main contributions from this dissertation. First, it highlights the importance of innovation in methods used in linguistics. There are many native speaker linguists in linguistics (although virtually unheard of in South America), and at least in sociolinguistics, participant observation is a common technique. But nearly all native speaker linguists working on ‘exotic’ languages choose to get all their data from their own intuitions, perhaps occasionally eliciting grammaticality judgments from other speakers. This study was completely different in that the native speaker linguist collected and analysed a database of texts from other native speakers, in the context of interviews conducted in the village that resembled natural native speaker conversations. Therefore, while the native speaker intuition of the linguist has been valuable in transcription and translation of the text material, and also in understanding the cultural context for the distinction between types of genres, the data represent real speech, and not some idealized abstraction of ‘competence’. Even though the methods used by the investigator cannot be viewed as being different from conventional methods in linguistics, what is uniquely different in this case is that the
language in question is virtually unknown, and the picture of the language that comes out is directed by a native speaker rather than by even a fluent foreigner.

Second, the study is making a huge contribution to the linguistic database for Akawaio, a database that will eventually be used as part of a reference grammar and a dictionary of Akawaio. In the aftermath of this study, all the recordings of the interviews used, along with the final transcribed, interpreted and glossed texts, shall remain the property of the Linguistics Departments at both Rice University and the University of Oregon to advance future studies in the Akawaio language. Also, it is only right that copies of the interview tapes be lodged at the Caribbean Research Library, University of Guyana, to be used by students interested in Amerindian linguistics.

Third, this study contributes lexical and grammatical data to the existing Cariban language studies database, particularly in the area of classifying Cariban languages and contributing to the placement of Akawaio in the Cariban language family. This study shows that the Akawaio language is still going through changes, which results in dialectal variation; some additional variation may have come about by contact with Pemón and Makushi. So on the one hand, Caribanists should recognize that the Akawaio language cannot be easily homogenized into a single data point for the purposes of classification. On the other hand, this study also might bear the clues to the original Akawaios, since the oral historical accounts of the elders at Waramadong continuously mentioned a group called the Chigómunas, considered the true, original and the ‘real Akawaios’.

Most linguistic classifications of the Cariban language family remain speculations simply because only the documented materials on these languages are considered, and so little is actually documented. Oral history has not been taken seriously, nor has it been
considered credible. The arguments about the credibility of the documented accounts on Amerindians and their languages in general remain a sensitive political issue. This is because the Amerindians themselves do not agree with the homogenizing and the classifications of their languages, and this is the case in both North and South America. Within the literature, ethnographers, explorers, anthropologists, historians and linguists continue to use labels such as Cariban, Arawakan and other such categories loosely. For example, Cariban is a word coined from Carib, the English name for a particular Amerindian group, the *Kari’na* or the ‘true Caribs’. Yet in spite of this ‘*Cariban*’ is still used to categorise and homogenize a set of similar types of languages, such as Wai-Wai, Arekuna, Patamuna, Akawaio or Makushi, without no respect for their individuality as this relates to their individual names and identity.

1.5 Research Methodology

This section outlines the methodologies that were utilized to collect the data. This section is important because, although the methodologies followed the conventional way for designing, organizing and collecting data in the field, there were some aspects that were significantly different. For instance, the researcher’s status as a native Akawaio researcher brought to the methodology a uniqueness that is associated with being a participant observer and in this way doing the study as an ‘insider’. This in itself is an advantage as it led to accomplishing the objectives of the study in a shorter period of time: being a native speaker of Akawaio hastened the process of elicitation in the field, interviews were conducted in Akawaio, and transcribing and interpreting the data -- although very long, tedious -- was relatively easy to cope with.
Despite this, there were three major problems that were associated with the actual interpretation or the ‘free English translations’ of the Akawaio clauses within the texts. First, there were words and expressions, including sound symbolic words, which had no equivalents in English. Most times, these had to be explained in parentheses, and at times they were very long. Second, when an Akawaio speaker is telling a story, it is told in a way where the main characters are introduced first. Thereafter, the hearer must decide and figure out which character is being talked about by the teller. Akawaio grammar sometimes offers clues, sometimes not, to indicate which character is enacting which role in a clause from a narrative. Therefore, literal translations into English might make a story look simply like a lists of things happening, with almost no context or characters. Anyone reading the translations to get a sense of the story would have to figure out very carefully what is going on. To solve this, some characters were identified and included in parentheses in the free translation English sentence line. Finally, there is the problem of maintaining the character and dynamism of the story itself as it is told, since during the process of the free English translations, the “feel” of the storyline is totally lost.

Another issue is stylistic embellishment and actual performance mistakes that all speakers make on occasion. These were obvious to the investigator, who was transcribing them. The question arose: should these be ignored or corrected during transcriptions? The decision was to transcribe them, but note the non-standard nature of the utterances in a comment note attached to the record of the sentence containing it. The larger problem with this, though, was that it threw the story completely out of line and context in English, and this is reflected in the English free translations. Sometimes, this mistake is followed through until the speaker corrects himself/herself and then it is
realised that the English language cannot accommodate this. In terms of the morphemes that indicate stylistic embellishment, the problem was solved by entering them into the dictionary as separate and distinct entries.

In terms of methodology, there was a certain disadvantage as well to being a native Akawaio going into an Akawaio community to do research. This disadvantage presented itself in the pressures that the researcher faced constantly to do the ‘right thing,’ which was a major obsession during the process of developing the methodology from the start.

Thus, upon arrival in Georgetown, it was necessary for the researcher to draw the attention of the significant actors and foci of power in Guyana and this led her to the office of the Minister of Amerindian Affairs every time, to discuss the study and to seek permission from him to do the research at Waramadong, even though she was from there. The primary reason was because the researcher was respectful to the political structure, the leadership and the Akawaio elders at Waramadong, whose visiting regulations are sanctioned by the Minister. Each time the investigator saw herself as an outsider, a graduate student coming from a foreign university. She was very concerned to avoid appearing as though she thought she could just go into the village to do a study, while ignoring the leaders of the community. This is why the investigator had to report to the chief of Waramadong village and his councillors upon arrival there, in order to present her research permit and to outline the reasons for her presence in the village. This kind of approach led to organizing a village meeting in collaboration with the chief to introduce the parameters of the study to the villagers, the villagers who the investigator was intending to work with.
The reason for pointing out this aspect of my methodology is because there have been instances where foreign and local researchers have entered Amerindian villages to do studies, expecting residents to stop their daily activities just to accommodate them. This is bad enough, but it is even worse when they do not show any respect for the leadership within these communities. This is why (among other reasons) Amerindians are so weary of researchers working within their communities. The strong advice is that, prior to working in Amerindian communities, all researchers should know the identities of the significant gatekeepers, that is, of are the people in authority, who influence, or have the capacity to shape opinion and make things happen. Because these are the people who should be consulted before any attempt is made to implement a study. This should be an integral part of the first stage of all good research methodology. Such initial contact with the leaders of the community paves the way for a good working relationship, and the collection of good data.

On my first field trip, in 1999, forty Akawaio speakers were interviewed and the selections were based on purposive sampling. This technique was chosen because it accommodated the researcher’s knowledge of the backgrounds of the speakers individually and this is what determined who should be selected for the interviews. Other variables that determined the selections were the social indicators, such as geography (where were they settled at Waramadong), the age of the speakers, ancestral backgrounds, the boundaries of the speech community within which they lived, and whether they knew their language and culture. These factors influenced the sample universe. Then, in order to decide on a sample size, the possibly relevant geographic, social and sociolinguistic dimensions of variation within the Akawaio community were
assessed to develop a diverse sample. Finally, this exercise led to settling on the number of Akawaio speakers and the amount and type of materials to be collected from each one.

The age categories of those interviewed included young, middle aged and old and these bore the following age categories: young (20-30 yrs), middle-age (40-50 yrs), and old (60-80 yrs). These age groups were best seen as having a sound knowledge of their language and culture. Geography was important because the investigator wanted to know which location in Waramadong the various speakers came from and how this location impacted on their language. Ancestral backgrounds of the informants were considered because it was the claim of the Waramadong residents that different dialects were spoken in different locations in the village because their ancestors came from elsewhere, and many of them were not Akawaio at all. The assessment of the boundaries of the speech communities at Waramadong was important, because this revealed what impacts these boundaries can have on the speech patterns in Akawaio. Finally, considering the knowledge informants had about their language and culture was vital for their selection, because it led to the collection of accurate and well informed data.

The aim of the first field trip was to collect various Akawaio texts, because the study was going to focus on traditional Akawaio speech genres. The text data collected represented personal history, myths and legends, rites and rituals, oral history, procedural narratives, recipes and conversational narratives. In fall 2001, a second trip was made to Waramadong village for two weeks, but spent only ten days because of the transportation problems that constrained getting from Georgetown to Waramadong. The aim of the second trip was to record more text data on the Akawaio speech genres. Additionally, the task was to field test 270 unfamiliar Akawaio words encountered in the first round of
interviews, and to elicit translations of 46 created English sentences. Both were necessary for testing the extent of the dialectal variation encountered in the 1999 text data, which showed both lexical and grammatical variation (Fox 2000). Overall, 15 Akawaio speakers were interviewed, but only 8 participated in the elicitation for the interpretations to the 46 English sentences taken to the field. Their selection was based upon their age, their availability at all times and because they spoke a different Akawaio dialect at Waramadong.

The methods used for the collection of the data entailed recording interviews with key informants and with the researcher, asking questions initiated by ‘Would you say X?’ or ‘Who would say X?’. Also, notes were taken during spontaneous conversations, discussions in a data book, and applying the directives of a carefully planned interview schedule. Formal questionnaires were deliberately not utilized since the option of being a participant observer was indispensable. This method aided the discovery of unexpected dimensions that contributed to the language variation that manifested itself during random conversations and during organized interviews. Thus, being a participant observer give way to uncovering what was not anticipated during the formulation period of the study.

The interviews were conducted in Akawaio and were recorded on a mini disc player. The idea was to make the Akawaio consultants comfortable at all times, and being able to speak with them in Akawaio was a big advantage in the exercise. Even the small size of the mini disc player influenced the comfort of the informants. Thus, even though it was something they were seeing for the first time, it was not as distracting as the usual portable tape recorders they were accustomed to seeing.
Each time after returning to Rice University and thereafter, the data was transcribed from the mini discs by hand into a data book in the following way: only the right-hand pages in the data book were used. The first line on the page was headed ‘Akawaio’, and thereafter every four lines this was repeated. The empty four lines were for comments and to assist in the glossing. The empty left page accommodated the comments and observations made by the researcher during the process of transcription. The transcribed Akawaio sentences were then entered alongside the Akawaio heading in the following way;

Example (1)

Akawaio: urō dōng bök mang
         urō dō-ng bök mang
      1S go-PRES.CONT
      ‘I am going’

The end of each sentence entry was determined by the completeness of the sentence. However if it was a long one the sentences were documented near the next Akawaio heading. For example;

Example (2)

Akawaio: pana’pe Agawaio amök e’pōdi’pī tabōdiōbö’ne tamas martin
         panak-pe Agawaio amok eji-bōdi’-pī ta -bōdi-bök -ne Thomas Martin
      strong-Attr akawaio Pl. be-Iter-Past say-Iter-Prog-Emph Thomas Martin

Akawaio: ne’pō’ang go. (end of sentence)
         n-eji-bōdi-ang go
      3S-be-Iter-Pres Emph
      ‘The Akawaios used to be very strong, Thomas Martin always says’

The next stage was to enter the transcribed sentences into the computer using the Shoebox program, to be glossed, and thereafter to give the Akawaio free translations.
During this process, the entries are first identified by entering the initials of the Akawaio speaker interviewed, the type of genre and the number of the sentence to be transcribed.

Example (1)

KC, hallelujah song 1, sentence 3.

Akawaio: ayabong serō uwi ereudagō uwi
a-yabong serō uwi ereuda - gō uwi
2-seat this 1-older.brother sit.down – SG.IMP 1-older.brother
‘This is your seat older brother, sit down older brother’

Example (2)

KC, hallelujah song 1, sentence 4

Akawaio: ebing era’madok pe ereudagō uwi
ebing era’ma-dok pe ereuda - gō uwi
heaven see -NZR ATT sit.down SG.IMP 1-older.brother
‘Come sit down, let us see heaven older brother’

Prior to using Shoebox as the main program for transcribing, parsing and translating the Akawaio sentence entries, a data base was developed in the form of a dictionary. This was achieved through the efforts of the linguistics students participating in the Akawaio field methods class at Rice University, and their professors. This data base allowed for the easy glossing of the Akawaio entries in the Shoebox program, and also for new words to be added to the dictionary whenever they were encountered in the text.

Each time there was always an attempt made to improve in the techniques for the transcription and quality of the data. Hence, the method of transferring the Akawaio data from the original mini discs direct to the sound files on the computer was considered. This was a form of damage control for the original interviews on the discs and the equipment itself, since the constant rewinding and fast forwarding during transcriptions was ruining the mini disc player and the quality of the discs. This worked well, since the
production of the interviews were much clearer and the sounds files were easy to work with. Texts were transcribed into a note book then place into shoe box for glossing. This hastened the process of transcriptions of the text a bit. This method was improved by transferring all the interviews from the mini discs unto a CD to deal with the technical difficulty of transferring the data from the mini discs straight onto the sound files. In addition, this was not a technique that the researcher was familiar with and there was great dependency on a classmate who could only help at times. Consequently, only a few of the interviews were on sound files and when those were finished there was the need to get new ones on. Again, the text were transcribed unto a note book by hand after listening to the texts through a microphone, then entered into a Microsoft Word document, where the free English translations for the Akawaio clauses were done immediately. These were then transferred to the shoe box files and glossed.

Finally, the new idea of making WAV files of all the data on the minidiscs bore the best fruit. This led to individual parts of the interview (personal narratives, stories, recipes, praising rhymes, conversations) being segmented. This led to the easy identification of parts of the interviews which were pertinent to the study. After which, the CD bearing the text wave files were saved on to the computer, then transcribed using the Transcriber program. From Transcriber, they were imported into Microsoft Word, where the English free translations were done. Then these translated texts were transferred into Shoebox for final glossing.

In the end, all the texts appended to this dissertation were processed with a brand new Shoebox lexical database, to reduce the amount of variation in analysis introduced by the many linguists and students who began the lexical file during their field methods
classes. Although the program allows for corrections and additions to the lexical data base, it became important to create consistent entries that would reflect the Akawaio text data in the dissertation. Hereafter, the glossed texts was presented as being ready for their organisation into the various categories of speech genres, in preparation for that analysis.

The main limitation of the research methodology lies in the short time spent in the field, and the absence of key informants during this period. A decision to work with the available informants and data collected was taken thereafter. This decision has the consequence of making this study exploratory, more like work in progress. Even so, it serves to bring attention to the diversity of Akawaio dialects spoken at Waramadong, and it sets the stage for a future in depth study of the topic.

1.6 The Theoretical Approach

Developing a theoretical framework for any investigation is a requirement for scientific inquiry. More importantly, it serves as the model for advancing new innovations in scientific methodology and the creation of new models. The aim in this instance is no different. This study draws its theoretical framework from five main disciplines: anthropology, ethnography of speaking, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and core linguistics. First, this is to foster a multi-disciplinary approach to the study of the Akawaio speech genres. This diverse scrutiny accommodates a more complex view on the subject at hand. In addition, the disciplines collectively address the same problem, of speech use in speech communities, but from different approaches. Hence, they assist this study by providing different, and useful, scientific tools for analysing the Akawaio speech genres, while also giving the study multiple directions.
As mentioned, each of these disciplines have as their point of departure the behaviour of a ‘speech community’ within a given society. Each one targets a network of people within the ‘speech community’ as the frame of reference for investigating communicative activities as a whole. Therefore, the ethnography of speaking, Anthropological linguistics, linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics and core linguistics all share the common element for perceiving speech communities as organised systems of communicative events. The central question that is addressed by each one of these disciplines is ‘to what extent does any use of channel and codes within the “speech community” takes its place as part of the resources upon which the members draw?’ (Hymes 1974). The different ways in which this question is addressed is the core of the differences that exist between the individual theoretical approaches.

In keeping with this trend, anthropology is applied to explore and verify to what extent the individual speech genres are part of the Akawaio cultural system, what are their characteristics, in what context are they performed and used and how they are different from each other. Anthropology asserts that culture is a system of symbols that allows humans to represent and communicate their experiences, among which is the spoken word. If this is true, then the speech genres under scrutiny are cultural symbols of the Akawaio people, experienced as having symbolic meaning, particularly because language in general is a system of cultural knowledge used to generate and interpret speech (in the sense of Spardley & McCurdy 1997). Akawaio language is a part of a particular culture, therefore it is a system of knowledge that generates behaviour. The actual performance of speech is a type of behaviour that is interpreted within the structural patterns of the Akawaio language.
In addition, anthropological and ethnographical perspectives are geared to explain and compare Akawaio speaking systems with other societies through the speech types under study. This is because individual systems of behaviour tend to be culture-specific. The Akawaio society, then, is being investigated within its own terms through its speech genres. This is why it is necessary to compare how different it is to other structural systems.

Cognizant of these general anthropological issues, the Akawaio text data were collected by employing anthropological techniques for gathering data, from observations made of the Akawaio people's lives in order to attempt to understand their behaviour from the participant's point of view. In addition, the investigator attempted to extract communicative rules by observing behaviours that do or do not occur in various contexts, and the reactions of members of the community to each other's actions. Within this context, ethnolinguistics became important, as it is used to analyse the contexts, norms of appropriateness, and knowledge of the Akawaio language and its uses. This is to reveal the underlying cultural models and to demonstrate the cognitive and conceptual bonds that unify the Akawaio people within their culture. This is also why elicitation techniques were used to obtain Akawaio linguistic data from native speakers at Waramadong, particularly to collect materials dealing with specific categories of vocabulary and varying types of Akawaio grammatical constructions.

These theoretical stands of anthropology and ethnolinguistics lead readily to the use of the principles of core linguistics to find categories of patterns in the Akawaio speech types. It does this by examining three important subsystems of the Akawaio
language that expresses them: phonology, grammar and semantics, as represented in the collected text data.

Phonology consists of categories of sounds and rules for combining them to form vocal symbols. It is not directly concerned with meaning, but with the formation and recognition of the vocal sounds to which meaning is assigned. A basic element defined by phonological rules is the phoneme, consisting of minimal categories of speech sounds that contrast, and thus keep utterances apart. For example, in English bat, cat, mat, hat and rat are all different utterances, showing the contrastiveness of the different sounds /b/, /c/, /m/, /h/, and /r/. In Akawaio bōk, pōk, rōk, dōk, sōk, and tōk are also different utterances, showing the contrastiveness of the different sounds /b/, /p/, /r/, /d/, /s/, and /t/. All of these represent categories of different sounds called phonemes. The phonological analysis in Chapter 3 is used to explain if and how the Akawaio speech genres follow different sets of rules for producing and ordering sound categories characteristic of the Akawaio language. For example, preliminary analysis of the Akawaio data showed that the phonology in tareng ’ the ritual healing chants’ is different from the phonology in everyday speech and other genres.

The grammatical analysis of genres focuses on how categories such as nouns, adverbs, verbs and postpositions are used in slightly different combinations, or with different inflections within the different genres. In this case, it was observed that old nominalizations are now standard verb inflections in all procedural texts, but in narratives, the old verbal inflectional system is still found, especially at climatic moments in the storyline, as can be seen in the narrative texts in Appendix B.
The final subsystem, semantics, refers to the categories and rules that relate vocal symbols to their referents. Thus, semantic rules instruct speakers to combine words with what they refer to. ‘Refer’ in this sense means that a symbol becomes the focus of the speaker’s attention, it makes him/her take account of something. These semantic rules would be applied to the Akawaio text data to assess in what way the Akawaio language defines such semantic rules, if any. The foregoing is the foundation for the chapters that deal with the analysis of the evolution and changes in Akawaio phonology later in the dissertation.

Language regularly occurs within a social context as a part of a cultural system as postulated by Anthropology. However, to understand its use fully, it is important to recognise its relations to patterns of use determined by internal social factors. This is an important reason why this study has made the sociolinguistic approach an integral part of the study, since its rules view meaningful utterances as being combined with social situations. These, in turn, give appropriate messages (see Bonvillian 2000; Spardley & McCurdy 1997; Burling1973; Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1999). Thus, the sociolinguistic approach shows that in a language, variation is derived from differences in speech situations and from social distinctions within a community which is reflected in the way people speak. It gives way to understanding that, although some speech forms could be idiosyncratic, it is possible to study intra community variation by recording and analysing actual speech behaviour of members of distinct sectors of a given population. This is particularly so because there are two complementary processes that operate in dynamic connection between language and social factors. First, social differentiation among people correlates with the differentiation in their speech, so that factors such as
race, gender, region, class and ethnicity are used to account for linguistic differences. In the case of Waramadong village, the range of social factors that correlates with the dialects of Akawaio are ancestral tribal background, place of birth, settlement patterns and strong feelings about tribal identity.

Second, interrelationships between social factors and language use can be extremely complex for the following reasons, because sociolinguistic behaviour is inherently variable. Therefore, each speaker within a speech community can make use of the full range of speech forms available within it, such as alternatives for pronunciation, vocabulary and sentence construction. This can result in the unpredictability of the options chosen in a particular instance.

In Waramadong village, this type of situation is evident within two closely located speech communities of Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai, where a distinct variation cannot be observed in terms of a difference in a speech type. However, differences do exist based on other social factors, such as economics and knowledge of another non-Amerindian dialect of English. In fact, this is a situation where even the speakers at Samawa’pai are not a homogeneous group, since some are descendants of peoples who came from Venezuela and Bartica, nearer to the coastlands of Guyana, giving them knowledge of Creole English. In addition, they can also speak any of the other dialects spoken in the other two sections of Waramadong. In this way, individually, samawa’pai residents seem to be engaging in a variety of speech communities outside the larger unit.

An important aspect of sociolinguistics that is particularly useful to this study is its models of ‘speech community’ and ‘Communities of Practice’. Since a secondary task of this dissertation is to explore Akawaio language variation, the basis from which such a
situation is viewed is the speech community. The first question to ask in this area is whether Waramadong constitutes a single speech community, or whether it instead is constituted of various communities of practice. Considering all the components of sociolinguistics, it is realised that in its application, sociolinguistics reveals a different aspect of the communicative process. When complemented by other disciplines such as ethnolinguistics, anthropology and ethnography it orients us towards understanding the full range of interactional, social and cultural meanings conveyed by talk. This is why this study has chosen to utilise a multidisciplinary approach.

Despite the attention paid to other disciplines, in the main, this study follows in the tradition of the ethnography of Speaking (see Hymes 1962; Bauman & Sherzer 1974; Gumperz 1962, 1964; Ervin Tripp 1969; Sherzer & Darnell 1972) as echoed in the edited works on speech in Lowland South America and the Amazonia (see Bauman & Sherzer 1974; Clark 1998; Bonvillian 2000 and Sherzer & Urban 1986, to name just a few). Out of this sample, the studies in the edited works of Sherzer and Urban (1986) and Bauman & Sherzer (1974) are particularly important to this study.

Now that this study has been defined and the expected contributions of the dissertation have been listed, the remaining chapters provide the meat of the research, the presentation and analysis of the primary data. Appendix B provides a picture of the primary data itself in the form of a selection of transcribed, translated, and annotated texts from the researcher’s database.
Chapter 2

Ethnography of the Akawaio People

This chapter presents the ethnography of the Akawaio people. Thus it gives an overview of their history and culture. This way it seeks to identify the group in order to set the stage for understanding their general culture and their speech genres within this context. In addition, the history is useful for exploring the social, demographic and political factors, such as migration, social contact, ancestry, settlement patterns, village/state relationships and state policies that have impacted on Waramadong. All of these play a role in the dialectal variation discovered in the Akawaio language.

The ethnographical resources would include both secondary sources, consisting of documented accounts, and primary sources, consisting of oral historical accounts as told by the Akawaio elders who participated in the study. The latter is particularly important because it fills the gap of the non-existing written documents that precedes the formal establishment of Waramadong. The period referred to here is the time when Waramadong was a battleground for the early tribal wars in the Upper Mazaruni District. In addition, the oral accounts are valuable to this study, because they represent the way Akawaios define Waramadong in opposition to how it is politically defined by the Guyanese state.

In general, Chapter 2 is geared to pinpoint and identify the Akawaios within the context of Amerindian studies done in Guyana. It aims to inform readers about the spiritual beliefs of the Akawaios in order to set the stage for the more linguistic parts of the study that follow in later chapters. Finally, it serves to establish some basic terms of reference for the later analysis of Akawaio Speech genres.
2.1 Guyana

A study on the ethnography of the Akawaio people warrants a scrutiny of how they are defined within the historical and national context of Guyana. This scrutiny then extends further into developing a background setting to serve as a ‘point of reference’ for the study on their ways of speaking.

Guyana is located in Northern South America bordering the North Atlantic Ocean between Suriname and Venezuela. It was first inhabited by the Dutch in 1580 then subsequently by the British, French and Spanish. Geographically, it is divided into four natural ecosystems consisting of; (1) the coastal or alluvial belts; (2) the hilly sand and clay belts; (3) the highland region and (4) the savannah region. The coastal belt extends inwards from the Atlantic seaboard and represents the lowest point of elevation. The hilly sand and clay areas are located south of the coastal belt extending from the Pomeroon river to the Mazaruni river, south to Apoteri then eastward to the Corentyne river. These areas are heavily forested with altitudes varying from forty feet to four hundred feet (Daly 1975). The Highland region has forest-covered mountains such as the Imataka mountains located in the North West District and the Pakaraima range located west of Guyana, among which Mount Roraima (9,219 feet) is the highest point of elevation. Finally, the Kanuku mountain range located south of Guyana extends from East to West up to the Brazilian border and the Akarai mountains. This follows the southern boundary between Guyana and Brazil, then extends south west of Guyana to where the Kanaku mountains divide the Rupununi savannahs into the north and south zones (Edwards 1978:1).
Guyana is a multi-racial country, with a total population of 750,000 (1996 figures) divided into diverse ethnic groups: 49% East Indians, 36% Afro-Guyanese, 7% mixed ancestry, 7% Amerindians, 1% Chinese and Portuguese, and 1% other groups. All of these peoples except the Amerindians are referred to as ‘coastlanders’ because they mostly occupy the coastal belt, the most developed part of Guyana. Ninety percent of the total Guyanese population inhabits the coastlands. The rest of the country -- particularly within the hilly sand and clay belts, the highland region and the savannah region -- are inhabited by approximately 60,000 Amerindians, who are distinctly identified as consisting of nine nations from three different language families: Akawaio (Ka'pong, Cariban), Arawak (Lokono, Arawakan), Arekuna (Pemón, Cariban), Carib (Kari'na, Cariban), Makushi (Cariban), Patamuna (Ka'póng, Cariban), Wai-Wai (Cariban), Wapishana (Arawakan), and Warau (Warrauan). With such a diversity of cultures, many languages are spoken in Guyana: in addition to the nine indigenous Amerindian languages, there are English Creole (the most widely spoken), Hindi and Urdu, Arabic, dialects of Spanish, dialects of Brazilian Portuguese, Chinese (mostly spoken by recent immigrants from China), Dutch creole, Patois (among some immigrant Islander communities in Madhia/Potaro) and some other Amerindian languages not indigenous to Guyana, such as Kamarakoto, Taurepang, Tiriýó and Taruma. Because Guyana is a former British colony, the official language is English.

Guyana is divided into ten distinct regions, among which five are inhabited purely by Amerindians: Region 1, Barima-Waini (mostly Carib and Warau); Region 2, Pomeroon-Supernaam (mostly Arawak, Spanish Arawak, some Carib and Warrau); Region 7, Cuyuni-Mazaruni (predominantly Akawaio and one community of Arekuna);
Region 8, Potaro-Siparuni (predominantly Patamuna/Ingari’ko) and Region 9, Upper Takatu-Upper Essequibo (predominantly Makushi, Wapishana and Wai-Wai). Amerindians also live in some areas of Region 3, Essequibo islands-West Demerara and Region 4, Demerara-Mahaica and East Berbice-Corentyne, but not in large numbers.

Settled over a wide area of Guyana, the Amerindians inhabit over sixty five (65) communities, within officially recognised main Amerindian reservations such as the Mazaruni District, the North West District, and the Rupununi District. These reservations were established in 1910 following the passage in Parliament of the Aboriginal Protection Ordinance No. 28, and were thereafter sanctioned in 1939 by the Moyne (West Indian Royal) Commission. Each village was to be led by someone referred to as ‘Captain’ or touchau (wapishana word), who was to be paid a stipend, serve as the rural constable for five years, and to rule in accordance with national goals.

In 1949 the first government administrative centre was established at Kamarang in the Upper Mazaruni District, the current homelands of the Guyanese Akawaio and Arekuna. Kamarang was set up on an experimental basis, and was the first government administrative centre established within any Amerindian reservation. This centre is still operational today. This move was the first attempt by the British colonial government to deal with administrative problems that plagued them in most of the Amerindian communities in Guyana at that time, mostly regarding transportation and communication.

In 1968, a regional system of government was established in Guyana to do away with the colonial idea of Districts and District Commisioners. This resulted in Guyana being divided into ten political regions, with a regional minister appointed to be responsible for each region. Each region had subregional administrative and
developmental councils, and it was at this level that the Amerindian communities continued to have links to the state machinery, since the administration of their communities was located here.

The idea of this new system was to make it easier to assess and monitor the functioning of the regional system at all times. Thus, state officials ranking from the highest level, the Regional Ministers, to the lowest level, Village Captains and their Village Councils, were made accountable to the government, and could be under constant scrutiny by the government. While the concept looks good in principle, the regional system is not perfect, and has actually been counter-productive at times in the administering of Amerindian communities.

This study focuses on the village of Waramadong, which is situated in the Upper Mazaruni District in Region 7, Cuyuni-Mazaruni. The next section gives background on the Akawaio people as a whole, after which Waramadong is placed in greater focus again.

2.2 The Akawaio People

Akawaio is a Guyanese Amerindian tribe belonging to the Cariban language family (for classification of the closest relatives to Akawaio, see Figure 3.1). There are approximately 6,000 Akawaio in Guyana, living mostly in the Upper Mazaruni District in Region 7, Cuyuni-Mazaruni, in the villages of Waramadong, Kako, Warawata/Kamarang, Jawalla, Pilipai, Chinau yeng, Kwaimarudōi, Amokokopai, Koroba, Kaikan and Kuyubanang (see Appendix A for maps of South America and Guyana). Other Akawaio communities are located at Mabura Great Falls and Malali Mission in the Demerara river,
closer to the coastlands of Guyana; at Seventy-two Miles Potaro, Kurupung, and Issano in the Middle Mazaruni; and at Ataro, Kwating and Wayaura Yeng along the borders between Guyana and Brazil, but more on the Brazilian side (see Appendix A, Map 2 for a locations of Amerindian villages in Guyana; Fox and Danns 1993:20).

Some 4,000 Akawaios also live at San Juan, Ocinta Ocho, San Antonio and San Martin in Venezuela, following their migration there in the late 1960s and 1970s. These mass migrations resulted from the soaring border disputes between Guyana and Venezuela, which threatened family and traditional dual citizenship loyalties across the borders. As comes out later in this study, some Waramadong residents have roots in Venezuela because their ancestors came from there. This has resulted in these residents maintaining current strong family ties with families over there, which has in turn resulted in steady travel to and from Venezuela. As will be shown in Section 3.2, this group of Waramadong residents partly define their identities by their connection to Venezuela, as well as by the distinctive dialect that they speak, which has contributed to variation in the Akawaio language in Waramadong village today.

The Akawaio call themselves \textit{ka'pong or ka'ponggon} meaning ‘people from the sky’, and they call their language by the same name. They were first encountered by Sir Lawrence Keymis in the early 1500s. Thereafter, they were described in reports and ethnographic, historical and anthropological studies in the 1800s by Rev. William Brett (1868), Sir Richard Schomburgk (1840,1844), William Hillouse (1825), Rev Everard ImThurn (1883) and others. Other studies followed in the 1900s, by Butt-Colson (1954, 1957, 1972), Edwards (1980, 1979, 1977), Gillin (1945), Founier (1977) and Fox (1996), to name just a few. Throughout history, they have been known by several names:
Akawai, Accawau, Accawai, Acqewyen, Wakawai, Waika and Guayea were used by other tribes to refer to them. Their physical appearances have been discussed in much detail throughout Guyanese history by priests, anthropologists, colonial government officials and explorers. As an example, Rev. Brett in 1868 described them as follows:

Akawaios resembled the other tribes but were recognized by their physiognomy by the way they contrive to adorn or disfigure their features. Using bright red annatto they painted their faces and bodies with blue streaks, they took great pains to do this and were only distinguishable because they had a circular hole about half an inch in diameter made in the lower part of the upper lip (Brett 1868 cited in Fox 1993:21).”

In 1840 and 1844 Sir Richard Schomburgk encountered the Akawaios who had settled at Manari, located in the Barima river in the Northwest of Guyana. He described them thus:

Of all the coastal people the Waikas or Akawaios constitute without doubt the most powerful stamp of men and surpass the remaining tribes, not only in the valor of their whole build of body and also in their nobility and regularity of features. They are in the majority of cases slim, generally over five feet, six inches tall and their limbs firm and compact. With it they developed in all their movements an elasticity of suppleness and an agility of body that up till now had not been apparent amongst the Indians (Schomburgk 1840 cited in Fox 1993:21)

Following in this trend, William Hillhouse, who, because of his close association with them, was known as the Las Casas of the Akawaio, had this to say:
They were not superior to the Arawaks in stature, their skin was a deeper gold and are more resolute and determined in their enterprises. They are recognized at first sight by a large lump of annatto stuck upon the hair over the forehead. This was done both to strike terror and to keep away insects and their bites. (cited in Menezes 1979:28)

Throughout history and to the present time, the Akawaios have been known to be compulsive travelers: having stocked themselves with cassava bread (a staple), they could walk for several days to reach their destination to barter goods. This is one reason why Hillhouse (1825) described them as being capable of enduring much fatigue and hardship. They were the suppliers of quantities of haiyari root (used for poisoning creeks for fish) and other items for other Amerindians in Venezuela, Brazil, and Suriname, as well as for the colonists in Demerara, a county in Guyana. Because they were such successful farmers, they cultivated more land than any other tribes. Consequently, they were able to sell excess agricultural products to the colonists, then in turn bought English goods like guns, which they took on their bartering journeys to Brazil, Venezuela, Suriname and other far flung Amerindian communities. It is no wonder that Akawaios were referred to by the colonists, historians, anthropologists, and ethnographers (such as Thompson 1887, Menzes 1979, Butt-Colson 1954, Roth 1911, ImThurn 1883) as the 'peddlers' and 'news carriers' of the North Eastern Coast.

Akawaios were reported truly self-sufficient in every sense of the word. Therefore they were not included in what Rev. ImThurn described as the 'inter-tribal division of labour' that was practiced among Guyanese tribes. This system had a dual purpose: first, it encouraged and accommodated inter-tribal exchange of implements
made, and second, it aided intertribal communication networks (ImThurn 1883: 271). To begin with, one has to recognise that each Amerindian tribe was specialised in making some implement to promote its supply among other Amerindian tribes. Therefore, each group made and supplied an item to other tribes in exchange for better-made or rare articles which they themselves could not make. This was the first fulfilment of the 'intertribal division of labour'. Then, during the process of inter-tribal exchanges, the people of different tribes were brought together to discuss and spread ideas, and also to exchange news that was of general interest. In this way, although there was no organised system of communication, news was passed very quickly among the tribes. This amazed the Europeans at that time, who did not know by what means news could be dispersed so rapidly.

As the Akawaio produced everything they needed for themselves, at this level their only original function in the inter-tribal bartering ring was as news-carriers. Although they were not contributing anything they made to it, the Akawaio later forced themselves into the intertribal bartering ring by coming up with western type tools, guns, beads and fabric to entice buyers. This self-sufficiency became the envy of all the other tribes in that, while most of them travelled to trade the implements they made and to carry news to their neighbours, the Akawaio travelled only to exchange European goods, to carry news to other tribes, and to go to war.

Their natural arrogance has resulted in the description of the Akawaios as being both warlike and quarrelsome. For instance, Hillhouse described them as determined republicans, which posed difficulties for anyone who tried to subordinate them -- this was also the trait that led the Akawaios into constant wars with each other (Hillhouse 1825).
One has to recognise that Akawaio by definition were traditional warriors and lived in warrior societies. Consequently, they took the greatest care to constantly prepare for war and were experts in fashioning the weapons of war. In addition, they observed rituals such as celibacy, fasting and the prohibition of eating certain birds and animals. The weapons were deliberately made away from the village to avoid contamination by menstruating and pregnant women, which could happen just by the passing of such women near to the area where the weapons were created. Weapons such as the war club wa’tana, bows and arrows, blowpipes and darts, and spears were all made with great care', then carefully treated with a poison called ‘wassai.

Until the early 1900s, the Akawaio were involved in tribal wars with the Pemón tribes of Venezuela and the Makushis of Guyana and Brazil. Waramadong village, Ekereku, Kuzera’tói, Warimabia, and some satellite Akawaio communities surrounding Waramadong were all once Akawaio battlefields, as described in oral histories recorded in 1999 and 2001 with Akawaio elders Thomas Martin, Tim Lewis, Ruben Andrew, Roy Kenswil, Emanuel Thomas, Katrine Carvaio and Selina Williams. It is not surprising therefore to read that it was habitual for the Akawaio to attack any village that was weak; those who resisted were massacred, while others were taken slaves. Akawaio especially fought the Caribs over the Amerindian slave monopoly, a deal they made with the colonists, and they saw the Caribs as their sworn enemies.

On the other hand, regardless of how warlike and quarrelsome they were, Akawaio were also known to be hospitable. Hillhouse (1825) concluded that ‘An Akawaio if once treated well is always a friend but if in enmity with you he could never be reconciled'.
Just like today, Akawaio communities were everywhere in Guyana and its frontiers and so A.H. Verrill (1917) described them as being strictly "British Guiana Indians" the only tribe that was confined to the colony. He argued that they were the original inhabitants of Guyana and were a race distinct from all the other tribes. For such statements, Verrill was criticized since his speculations had no proof and were not conclusive.

Fournier (1979) reported that Akawaios were recent settlers of the Upper Mazaruni District and are descendants of an earlier Akawaio group who were deceived into going to Kukenaam valley in the Roraima area to 'See God'. This notion is embedded in the rapid spread of Christianity, which was taking place within Amerindian communities at that time, and which later led to the emergence of Amerindian messianic cults. These forms of worship were syncretic, bringing together aspects of Christianity with traditional Amerindian spirituality. Regardless, it was Amerindian forms of worship that predominated.

The oral history of the Akawaios begins with a self-styled Arekuna prophet called Awakai'pu, who summoned many tribes to visit the Kukenaam valley where he had established himself. A group of Akawaios were one of the tribes that heeded his call. Because of the great walking distance from the Coastlands, where Akawaios were believed to have originally lived, to the Kukenaam valley, many of the Akawaios perished on their way there. They died of hunger and attacks by fierce tribes and animals. Some turned back in frustration, and most of those who arrived at Kukenaam were massacred during a 'ritualistic death ceremony' carried out by Awakai'pu. While this event is not officially recorded, it is often told by Akawaio elders. It is used to give
reasons as to why those Akawaios that returned eventually settled in the Upper Mazaruni: they were too tired to go back to their homes nearer to the coastlands.

Presently, the Akawaios are the only Amerindian group who practice the form of syncretised religion known as Hallelujah. It emerged in defiance to Christian proselytisation and in many ways its creation was revolutionary. It served as the medium to retain native spirituality, which was under serious threat. Also, it was a direct attack on "pure" Christianity, as only some components of Christianity were merged with traditional belief systems, to create a new religion. This new religion then became an important means for enforcing solidarity. The father of Hallelujah was a Makushi native named Bichiwíng, who resided in the North Rupununi. He went to England with some white missionaries and had a spiritual vision there. He claimed that he talked with God, who revealed to him the name of the new religion which he should share with his people. Thereafter Bichiwíng returned to Guyana and started Hallelujah. At the present time, it is only the Akawaios who still practise this religion, primarily in the villages of Amokokobai, Waruwa’ta, Jawalla and Chinau yeng. While Patamunas and Arekunas were also once associated with Hallelujah, they, like the Makushi, no longer practice this religion.

There are still important gaps in the history of the Akawaios. For instance, there are no facts about where they came from to Guyana, nor why they are always linked to the Patamunas, whose language is very close to the Akawaio language. In addition, the exact time of their occupation of communities in Guyana is still unknown -- by the earliest recorded history, in the early 1500s, they were already in Guyana to meet Sir Lawrence Keymis.
2.3. Waramadong from the residents' perspectives

This section is divided into historical and contemporary components. The historical begins with some basic background, vital statistics, and a succinct history of the village of Waramadong, distilled from various government reports (section 2.3.1). The historical tale continues based on the oral history narratives recorded in the two field trips and focuses on the division of Waramadong in the four neighbourhoods (section 2.3.2). As this is unofficial, the village is not divided in this way by the governing council at Waramadong, nor is it recognised in this way by the government and its hinterland officials; hence this division is very important to residents, because it encapsulates how they see themselves, and how they define their current social groups. This material, which is based in the oral histories and other ethnographic observations made by the researcher, is the basis for understanding the social networks that define the modern speech communities and communities of practice in Waramadong. Discussion of this aspect of Waramadong is postponed until Chapter 5, which explores the various language attitudes found amongst the residents of the four Waramadong neighbourhoods, linking negative attitudes about speech (and language variation) to negative attitudes about other social behaviours.

2.3.1 Published Historical Records of Waramadong

Waramadong village is one of the seven main largest Akawaio communities in the Upper Mazaruni District. It was established in the early 1920's by the Seventh-Day-Adventist Missionaries who later colonised and turned it into a mission consisting of a church, a mission compound and a church school. The school and church became the
centre around which Akawaio families were forced to live, guaranteeing stability for a once nomadic people. Both school and church provided education and these institutions were used as the medium for conversion to Christianity, which also started the process of integrating the Akawaio into mainstream Guyanese society. This mission was also established, in part, to facilitate the colonial government’s plan to make the Upper Mazaruni a reservation, was made official in 1953 (Amerindian Lands Commission Report, 1969). This resulted in the establishment of a centre for administration, which was and still is located at Kamarang, thirty miles downriver from Waramadong. The impact of this administrative move led to the official recognition of Waramadong as an Akawaio village with full rights to have its own political administrative structure, linked to the national state political machinery.

Currently, Waramadong is still governed through a non-traditional political structure which is influenced and approved by the state local government system. The head of the village, legally called the Captain but popularly known as the Chief, is assisted by a team of six village councillors. Each Chief is elected to serve for five years. Elections are conducted by state government officials, usually the Assistant Regional District Officer, sometimes other designated Hinterland officers. Chiefs that served Waramadong from 1955 to the present time include Capt. Philip Donald (Kamarakoto married to an Akawaio), Capt. Joseph Isaacs (Akawaio), Capt. Jordan Thomas (Akawaio), Capt. Gibson Caesar (Arekuna/Kamarakoto married to an Akawaio) and Capt. Dutchell Isaacs (Akawaio), who is still the chief at Waramadong today.

The institutions and fraternities that have been established in Waramadong include a health centre, which is administered by an Akawaio health worker and an
Arekuna malaria technician. The health centre takes care of basic medical needs, such as delivery of babies, treatment of minor accidents, flus and colds, rashes, some infections, cuts and bruises, snake bites and malaria. Serious cases are referred to the Government Cottage hospital at Kamarang and if the patients cannot be helped there they are flown to Georgetown Hospital in the city.

In 1977, a secondary school was built as a separate complex away from the main village, to serve the entire Upper Mazaruni District. Students attending this school come from all the main Akawaio and Arekuna villages and are accommodated in small dormitories administered by chalet administrators, house mothers and fathers. There is an overall administrator for the school, a janitor, and Akawaio cooks who provide meals for the children on open stoves located in the adjoining area of the mess hall. Food for the secondary school is provided by central government and there is a boat and an engine which is also provided by the government. The teachers here consist of a coastal headmaster (non-Amerindian), five Akawaio teachers and one Arekuna teacher. A primary school was established in the late 1950s, first as a church school and then it became a government school. There are six Akawaio women teaching at this school and it is located not far from the secondary school compound. It has a section that caters to kindergarten pupils.

A Seventh-Day-Adventist church is pastored by a group of local Akawaio leaders and trained bible workers. Preaching in this church is done in both Akawaio and English.

A village shop, administered by local store-keepers, is located in the main village plaza alongside the Waramadong village road. It sells local produce such as ground provisions and plantains and bananas, as well as goods ordered from Georgetown city
such as clothing, shoes, matches, food condiments, packet soups, detergent and milk. Local smoked meat and fish is sometimes sold here.

A community centre built specifically for official functions is located within the village plaza. Sometimes when there are combined inter-village events the building is used to house visitors.

An agricultural station was built for experimental purposes. This is where the village nursery is located and mainly cash crop seedlings are planted for distribution whenever necessary.

In addition, there is a sports club which was recently built and it provides shelter for sports meetings and sports garb and equipment.

Finally, there is the Pathfinder Club which is the religious youth arm of the Seventh-Day-Adventists. This club could be compared with the scout organisation and was developed to coach youths about living a healthy Christian life. Activities learned in the Pathfinder Club include drills, track and trail, knot tying, survival skills in swimming and boating, travelling, eating healthy foods and evangelising.

There is one main radio set that is housed at the Health Centre, but there is no running water and electric lights. There is a generator at the secondary school which only serves this complex.

Most of the teachers teaching at the primary and secondary schools are ethnically Akawaio and Arekuna. Because of the national ‘English only’ policy in Guyana, English is the main medium for learning at school. The level of English spoken within Waramadong is excellent and most villagers are bilingual or trilingual (speaking also Spanish). Although everyone who lives at Waramadong speaks Akawaio in daily
interactions, there are obvious signs that this could change, in part because the prestige language of education is English and Akawaio is not given any official status in the schools or in the government.

Most Akawaios at Waramadong are Seventh-Day-Adventist converts, and this is the only religion that predominates in this village. In spite of this, there are some old Akawaio elders who still choose to continue to honour the Hallelujah (refer to Section 2.2). For instance, at Wayawa’pai, some of the residents announced that they were Hallelujah followers and will never be converted to Christianity. Sometimes this loyalty to Hallelujah was evident in the spiritual songs that were still being sung even by those who were Seventh-Day-Adventist. There are at least four main strongholds of the Seventh-Day-Adventists in the Upper Mazaruni District: Kako village, two communities at Kamarang Kaikan, and Waramadong. Over the past years, there were attempts to convert believers at Pipili’pai and Chinau yeng to become Seventh-Day-Adventists, but with no major results. In part this is because these Akawaio villages, in addition to such villages as Jawalla, Pipili’pai, Amokokopai and Chinau Yeng, already belong to other denominations: Jawalla Akawaios are Anglicans and Hallelujah worshipers, Pipilipai Akawaios belong to the Pilgrim Holiness church, and Amokokopai and ChinauYeng residents are mostly Hallelujah coverts.

The current population of Waramadong is now nine hundred and fifty (950). The population has increased from 520 people in 1996, and 756 in 1999. The population was larger in the early 1960s and 1970s, but there was a wave of migrations to Venezuela following the territorial disputes between that country and Guyana (concentrated in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s). These political disputes threatened kinships ties and free
travel for many Akawaio families, who chose to move to avoid the risk of being permanently separated. Today there are at least 3,000 Akawaios living in Venezuela, both along the border and elsewhere in the country, in such places such as San Juan, San Martin, San Antonio and Ocienta Ocho. Despite the loss of these families, the population at Waramadong has been continuously rising for the following reasons: (1) More children are born every year (this based on informal reports from village health workers). (2) Inter-tribal marriages are on the rise, with recent unions between Akawaio/Arekuna, Akawaio/Makushi, Akawaio/Arawak and Akawaio/Akawaio from other Guyanese Amerindian communities. The new families often choose to live in Waramadong, meaning new members are admitted to the community over a period of time. (3) Some of the Akawaios who live in Venezuela have been returning home due to bad conditions there within the past three years, bringing their extended families back home with them. And (4) in 1999, a new Secondary school was established in Waramadong, and all the children from the neighbouring villages are required to attend this school. The present population of the school now exceeds three hundred, a number that is reflected in the population figures.

2.3.2 Oral History: The creation of four distinct sections of Waramadong

Prior to the current occupation, Waramadong was only a tribal battle field and saw wars taking place for territory and its occupancy between Akawaios and various closely related tribes: Arekuna, Taurepang, and Kamarakoto (all Pemóng) who hailed from the Gran Sabana, San Helena and Marawak in Venezuela, Makushi, neighbouring
Chigômunas\(^1\) who hailed from Ekereku and the Kawaimô area, and more distantly, the Caribs. During this period, both Akawaio and Pemóng men captured women for wives from each other’s tribes. This period of prolonged contact certainly must have contributed to the variation that now exists in the Akawaio language at Waramadong. Thereafter, there was continuous migration to and from Venezuela by these mixed families and their children, which reinforced their fluency in Pemóng and thus gave them confidence in code switching and code mixing, adding to the variation in the Akawaio language, specifically the development of the Akawaio dialect defined in Section 2.3.2 as _Pemóng-Akawaio_.

A more recent source of intertribal unions that encouraged the development of Pemóng-Akawaio was the Davis Indian Training School, established in the 1950’s at Paruima. This was a Seventh-day-Adventist boarding school to which Arekuna and Akawaio young men and women were admitted. Since it was an all-age school, many of those who were old enough to marry chose to take wives and husbands from the other tribe, then took their spouses to their homes, either at Paruima or Waramadong. The Pemóng-Akawaio-speaking families that came to Waramadong all settled in Section one, _Enemoroji’pai_, and Section two, _Samawa’pai._

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\(^1\) The Chigômunas are a mysterious group, never before mentioned in the literature on Cariban people or languages, and previously unknown to the author as well. The oral histories agree that the Chigômuna spoke a closely related language, and two Akawaio elders from Enemoroji’pai and Abamang explained that the ‘original’ Akawaios who inhabited the Upper Mazaruni were the Chigômunas who were settled at Kawaimô and other remote parts of the Mazaruni. These were said to be the ‘real Akawaios’, entailing that the present population now known as Akawaios is only representative of some kind of “mixed” group. It was further asserted that Kako/Akawaio speakers feel that they are direct descendants of the Chigômunas, and thus are speakers of the “original Akawaio”. This would then explain some of the language attitudes discussed in section 3.3.4. Of course, none of this can be confirmed without additional evidence, and this study does not endorse these claims. Nonetheless, the stories are certainly intriguing!
Although they share Pemón ancestry and linguistic influences, what distinguishes the communities of *Enemorójí'pai* and *Samawa'pai* is the different Akawaio family connections they have: in *Enemorójí'pai*, the Pemón descendents have intermarried with Akawaios and Chigómunus from Ekerekú and Kawaimô. In *Samawa'pai* they have intermarried with Akawaios from Seventy-two Miles, at the outskirts of Bartica (closer to the coastlands of Guyana). In conversation with the author, two of these speakers pointed out that their ancestors originally migrated to Seventy-two Miles/Bartica from Potaro and the Kaieteur falls area; these, along with communities such as Kopinang, Kurukubaru, Chenapau and Paramakatoi, are considered the homelands of the Patamuna (another dialect of Kapóng). While this history is very interesting, and certainly calls for further investigation, this study will not address the Patamuna-Akawaio variety, since basic data on Patamuna are lacking to confirm any claim.

Other immigrants to Waramadong came from neighbouring Akawaio communities in the Upper Mazaruni District, from areas like Kako, Kukui and Philipai, and from Issano Middle Mazaruni. Most times this happened because of marital commitments or to simply visit. Most residents of modern Waramadong came directly from Kako and surrounding areas; these are the speakers of Kako-Akawaio. Those that came from Kukui settled at Warimabia and Kusera’töi, small farming hamlets which were located about fifty miles from Waramadong, near the foot of the Pipitöbu Mountain, where they continued to speak Kukui-Akawaio. Although their settlements were located away from the village, their children resided at Waramadong in order to go to school. In the late 1980s, because of constant malaria epidemics and the death of many of their prominent elders and leaders, many of the Kukui-Akawaio speakers moved from these
small settlements to Waramadong proper, settling together with the speakers of Kako-Akawaio in Section 3, Abamang. Abamang is the largest geographical area of Waramadong village, and the combined Kako-Akawaio and Kukui-Akawaio speakers represent the largest group when compared to the groups in the other three sections.

The fourth neighbourhood, Wayawa’pai, was originally settled by an earlier group of Akawaio families who spoke the Kako-Akawaio dialect. These original Akawaio families have left Wayawa’pai over the years for various reasons. Several prominent elderly family members died one after the other as they succumbed to a strange illness in the early 1960s. This resulted in the break-up of several closely-knit families who lived there. Others who remained got married and migrated to other parts of Waramadong or completely left with their spouses to neighbouring communities such as Paruima (an Arekuna village), Jawalla, Kamarang and Kako villages. Some Wayawa’pai family members eventually abandoned this section to establish small permanent family hamlets just off Waramadong and in one instance, six miles down river.

In the early 1960s, the Waramadong village chief, Joseph Isaacs, invited the village chief of Ataro/Kwating, Clementino to bring his two wives and children to Waramadong, so that his children could be educated. He accepted, bringing two other families with him: Agaru (subsequently called John Smith) with his two wives and children and Joji (known as Milton Joseph) with his three wives and children. These families established a family hamlet in an area that surrounded the communal village farm at Parana’pai, located about six miles away from Waramadong village. In addition, the families were allocated a communal village house at Waramadong, located at a bordering area between Abamang and Wayawa’pai. The families occupied this house
whenever they came to Waramadong to participate in its activities. For the most part, the children of these families lived in the communal house during the week and returned to the family hamlet on the weekends. In the late 1960s Chief Clementino was accidentally killed by a falling tree during the clearing of the Waramadong village farm. Chief Clementino’s two wives and his relatives in Kwating blamed the Waramadong chief for killing him (although it was clear this was not so). This event created a rift between Waramadong and the Ataro/Kwating community. Following Clementino’s death, his widows and their children returned to Kwating but the Smith and the Milton families remained at the family hamlet at Parana’pai.

In the late 1970s, the eldest daughter of Joji married a male descendant of an original family from Wayawa’pai. This began a period of expanded settlement in Wayawa’pai, as Joji Milton’s family began settling in this area by building new homes near to their daughter and son-in-law’s home. Presently, 10 of the 14 families that reside in Wayawa’pai are part of Joji Milton’s extended family. The others represent a few of the remaining original Wayawa’pai descendants, plus some new families who have migrated recently from Kwating. A constant flow of Akawaio immigrants from Kwating continues to this day, expanding the population of Wayawa’pai. Consequently, the number of speakers of the newest dialect of Akawaio, called Kwating-Akawaio, continues to grow at Waramadong. As Wayawa’pai represents the second-largest geographical area of Waramadong village, there is ample room for further growth.

At this point, the author’s personal history — and therefore potential biases — should be reviewed. The author grew up in Abamang, speaking Kako-Akawaio. Her father is Arekuna from Venezuela, so she is also fully fluent in Arekuna (a dialect of
Pemóng). However, due to the influence of the powerful traditional Akawaio norms, reinforced by the influence of a powerful Akawaio maternal grandmother, she has never developed or reinforced an Arekuna identity. This is part of a general pattern, in that when one parent is of the Akawaio nation and the child is born in Akawaio territory, then that child is deemed an Akawaio, regardless of which tribe the other parent comes from. For the most part, the author’s father was considered a stranger in Waramadong, and was forced to adhere to all the directives of his wife’s Akawaio culture (even so, he was elected Captain of Waramadong for a 5-year term). The writer and her siblings were always taught to be Akawaio, to speak Akawaio and to always be proud of being Akawaio. After growing up, the author married a non-Amerindian Guyanese national and moved to Georgetown, capital of Guyana. During 20 years of work in the Amerindian Languages Project/Amerindian Research Unit, she conducted field work with all the other tribes of Guyana, developing fluency in all dialects of Pemóng and Kapóng, plus conversational ability in Cariban languages Kari’ña (Carib proper) and Arawak. Although she grew up surrounded by these social and linguistic tensions, her time away and her linguistic training have given her a different perspective, and this is what allows her to remain objective enough to try to understand all the groups in Waramadong. But the reader should nonetheless keep in mind that the author cannot be completely objective in analysing the place of her birth.

2.4 Akawaio Spiritual Beliefs

Today Akawaios still practice aspects of their traditional culture and their oral traditions and the language is kept alive. One major aspect of their culture which is
suppressed and almost rooted out by Christianity is their spirituality. This is defined not as a religion in a western sense but as a way of life. Without an understanding of the role of this Akawaio spirituality, there is a danger to dismiss and overlook their trend of thought that is reflected in how they perceive aspects of their life such as language. One main reason why this spiritual focus becomes important in this study is because it provides a background for understanding the context within which the Akawaio language is defined and how it is classified. It is therefore important to discuss the main aspects of these Akawaio beliefs.

Firstly, at the centre of Akawaio spirituality is the person and how this concept is defined. This is because Akawaio personhood is associated with the sky/earth (upper world and underworld) opposition, which they define as the key to explaining human existence. It provides a background to understanding the physical space of the human form in relation to the cosmos. The cosmic universe is understood as a conscious, living, organic and evolving being that has its own laws of existence. Humans and all other forms of life are seen as part of this whole.

The Akawaios therefore, perceive of the cosmos as being divided into different worlds which represent other states of beings or different levels of existence, realities and consciousness. The cosmic universe is where the human being stands as the vertical cosmic pillar, a position in which he is seen as the embodiment of his world into layers. For the Akawaios, the upper world is the realm where a person experiences the high self while the underworld is the experience of the body self. These experiences are reflected in the way they divide the spiritual cosmic universe, in a way parallel to the way humans divide and define themselves. These divisions represent different realms of reality and are
spiritual categories which have evolved from the conscious and the unconscious human mind. This is guided by a spirituality, a guided power that is responsible for human actions and one which originates from the spirit within humans themselves.

Akawaios perceive of three worlds: _ka'pong bada_ ‘upper world’ or celestial world which means ‘a place in the sky’ or ‘a place for humans par excellence.’ The upper world has two subcategories: the home of the ancestors, _penaro'kong_, and the home of spiritual beings. _Penaro'kong_ is the home of _Magunaimō_, the great spiritual ancestor of the Akawaio people, and the Sun Father, who constantly energizes and rejuvenates _Magunaimō_, controlling night and day, time and spatial directions. The other sublevel is the home of spiritual beings where various spirits live such as _imawari, maigok, pijawogoks_, spirits of good people who died and other good ancestral spirits. These are the spirits which are summoned during shamanic ceremonies to give guidance for curing illnesses, warfare and leadership. All the entities living within the two sublevels live normal lives. Thus they continue to have wives and children to ensure the future continuity of Akawaio spiritual ancestors. They are spiritually enlightened by the great ancestor _magunaimō_.

The second world, _nongbong pada_ ‘earthly place/home’, consists of only one level, representing the terrestrial world, also called the middle world. This world is the trunk or the central axis connecting the middle world of physical reality at the centre with other worlds such as the celestial world _ka'pong bada_. This is the earthly home of the humans, animals and all other things on earth. It is also the home of bad spirits. The person at this point stands as a vertical axis between the celestial and the subterranean world.
The third world of the Akawaio is the *nong o’nong pada* ‘place under the earth’, or the subterranean world, which is also divided into two levels (1) *abai awong pada* ‘shallow underworld’ and (2) *i’nawong pada* ‘deep underworld’. The shallow underworld represents darkness where there is nothing, while the deep lower underworld is full of auric energy. This is the home of spirits of good persons who drowned and other helpful spirits. They function to aid new things that are coming into being such as new ideas, visions, and dreams of various kinds, and they give their aid to only selected souls in the terrestrial world.

All the Akawaio worlds described are separated not so much by distance or by time, but by their spiritual vibrational wavelength. Thus, they interpenetrate and surround the physical and material. They occupy the same space but represent different dimensions. This why the Akawaios see the vertical representation of the cosmos as embracing a multidimensional universe, symbolising the essential unity of all life, at all levels.

The division of the cosmos as discussed here is superimposed onto the human being in the following way: first the human being is analogous to the vertical pillar that represent the cosmic worlds. Therefore the human body is seen as being divided into three cosmic divisions: the head and chest representing the celestial world, the abdomen and lower extremities representing the terrestrial world, and the earth beneath human feet representing the subterranean world. The body itself is called *pung* ‘flesh/meat. The mouth *mīda* and the anus *wase’ma* are the front and back door of the body and they represent the entrance and exit of the soul/spirit and the energy and life force of the body. The crown *nagata* draws energy for the body from Sun Father *wōi*, feeding the three
types of souls: *a'kwā* ‘brightness or light’, *a'kwari* ‘soul/spirit or energy/life force’ of the body, and *a'kwari'pi* the 'ex-person, shadow or ghost.' These are discussed in great detail later.

The head area is the place of high knowledge, intelligence and understanding, because the brain *nagasek* and the mind *zenuminggaang yeng* is located here. In addition, it houses the nose *euna*, another important body part used for breathing the air, the medium for communication by the body. The heart *ewang dōbu* is where the soul lives within the chest cavity, protecting the general area where the heart is located. Finally the abdomen and the lower extremities also bears important parts of the body but one important part to focus on are the feet, which are responsible for physical movement and balance, and which additionally draw energy from the earth. In summary, there is always energy coming from above, from the sun onto the human being and there is also energy that comes up to him from beneath the earth. This is why it is said that a circular light or auric energy constantly surrounds humans (Fox 2000).

Akawaios define the person in terms of the body-soul unity, in which this soul/spirit is distinct but not separate from the physical body. This indicates that when a person dies, something goes and something is left behind, because a separation takes place between the body and the soul. Also, the Akawaios believe that all things animate or inanimate have souls or spirits known as *a'kwari* in Akawaio. This word originates from two words; *a'kwa* ‘brightness/light’ and the morpheme *ari*- ‘contents’ resulting in *a'kwari* to mean ‘that which constitutes brightness or light’. *A'kwa* is believed to come from the sun, the energy producer and the life force of everything on earth. This is why the sun is a father symbol for the Akawaio people. As mentioned earlier, Akawaios
believe the person has three souls: a’kwa ‘brightness or life force’, a’kwari ‘soul or spirit’, the true soul and the vitality found in all living things and nature spirits, and a’kwari’pi, the shadow, shade, ghost, past or ex-person or spirit. Of these three, a’kwa the life force and a’kwari the true soul or spirit are the most important. A’kwa ‘brightness, life force’ is the soul energy-giver, or the life force of a person, that activates the a’kwari soul or spirit. Therefore, when a person dies, it is because a’kwa ceases to give energy to the person, going out like a light bulb and returning to its source, the sun in the sky.

A’kwari ‘true soul’ controls the temperament, morale, sanity and the general state of being, the health and happiness of a person. The two components of a’kwari ‘true soul’ are erubaru ‘breath’ and zenuminggang yeng ‘mind’, literally ‘the thinking cave or container.’ The origin of the breath ‘erubaru’ is the air, the wind that gives life. It is said to be located in the bloodstream and is assembled near the heart and lungs, and it assists the a’kwari ‘true soul’ in maintaining the life state of a person. Thus, when a’kwa ‘brightness’ the energy giver is threatened, the person’s a’kwari ‘true soul’ becomes weak (exemplified in severe illness). Then when the person dies the breath, ‘erubaru’ is the last to leave the body and is thereafter defined as a’kwari’pi ‘ex-person, shadow or ghost’, in the aftermath of deterioration of the a’kwa and a’kwari (Fox 1997:34).

The use and power of the ‘breath’ erubaru is important in Akawaio spirituality and therefore it is widely employed in the healing practices of shamans and ritual blowers. It is also central to reinforcing other kinds of healing such as herbal and other kinds of healing. The importance of ‘breath’ erubaru is clear in the definition of tareng ‘ritual blowing’ which refers to a special ritual blowing practice in which the blower
‘tareng ezak’ silently utters special magical petitions, commands and wishes onto a sick person or on a medicine prescribed for him/her. The blowing is done at the end of every utterance and is done by forcing the breath through the mouth or nose or both in short, sharp gusts.

The aim of tareng ‘ritual blowing’ is to petition the relevant spirits of birds, animals, insects, fishes and plants, through invocations, to assist in the ritual curing of various ailments, such as diarrhoea, flues, tummy aches resulting from all types of illnesses, fevers, measles, tuberculosis, problems associated with pregnancy, insanity and all forms of illnesses associated with human beings. It can also be used to control natural phenomenon that pose a great threat to human life such as storms, earthquakes, floods and earthquakes. Generally there are two types of tareng ‘ritual blowing’ which is simply good and bad tareng. Those that cure illnesses are ‘good’ but those that are used to bring misfortunes and illnesses are bad. Even very honourable tareng healers need to know both good tareng (to cure illnesses) and bad tareng (to protect themselves from it in the hands of less scrupulous tareng users). From the church standpoint, all tareng is just plain evil, since any spirit that does not come directly from God is considered to come directly from the Devil. From the standpoint of ordinary non-Christian Akawaios, tareng healers ‘tareng ezak’ are useful, but also quite dangerous, since they have the power to curse as well as to heal.

The next component of a person’s soul, zenuminggang yeng ‘thinking cave’ a’kwari, refers to the mind. It controls wisdom and understanding, and maintains a person’s mental stability. It is located in the head closer to the forehead. Only a few persons are said to be wise and intelligent, mostly the shamans, tribal elders and their
ancestors; they are known as *pu'kenu'tong* ‘wise ones’. They are understood as having more shamanic and other spiritual powers, which makes them suitable arbitrators of their society.

There are several ways in which the *a'kwari* leaves the body. Contrary to western notions, *a'kwari* ‘soul’ is not at rest during sleep and death. Rather, during these times the spirit leaves the body to travel all over, to continue to do things under slightly altered conditions. Consequently, activities like dreams are considered real, for it is the celestial spirit alone that is in control of what a person dreams, while in waking conditions it is the spirit in the body, or the person, who controls action in everyday life. This is why, in Akawaio spirituality, dreams are part of a person’s history.

Visions are also another way in which the soul *a'kwari* leaves the body, and whatever is seen during visions is considered to be real, as well. Shamans sometimes indulge in fasting and stimulants during their training, as these activities result in abnormal body functions that make it easier to achieve the skill to send out their souls to communicate with other spirits. Their physical bodies remain while their spirits go up. This exemplifies the belief that there is a soul in the human body, illustrating how a separation of the body into two parts is very real for Akawaios.

In addition, one important feature pertaining to the soul is its transference from the body of its owner into other animate and inanimate objects. This is easily practiced by Shamans *'piyai'chang'* and the shamanic killer *kanaimō*. The Akawaio shaman can visibly change into a jaguar in order to attack an enemy or to traverse the forest in safety when negotiating with spirits. At other times, he does this to traverse the tridimensional plane of the universe. While in a trance, he can become a bird or simply separate his soul
from his body and ascend. While the neophyte can achieve this by ingesting large amounts of hallucinogenic drugs, the shaman can do this because his body has become a receptacle for achieving spiritual trances and ascensions, usually after repeated, prolonged social isolation, sexual repression, fasting and special diets.

For the Akawaio shaman his powers are luminous, in keeping with his soul, intelligence and wisdom, which he can easily transfer into objects through shape-changing and creating illusions. However the main thing is that, because the mental potentialities of both man and beast are considered as being the same by Akawaios, they can communicate with each other through telepathy. Birds and beast are affines, and a part of the interdependence that exists between the natural and the supernatural world. There is power in plants, rocks, stones and streams and this is an extension of the soul a’kwari in humans and animals (Fox 1997:38).

Finally, Akawaios believe in the continued everlasting existence of the soul/spirit a’kwari after the destruction of the physical body, at which time it becomes known as a’kwari’pi ‘shadow or ghost’. The a’kwari’pi reaps the reward or punishment for the good or the bad things a person has done while alive. Thus, souls that were good go up to the sky and bad spirits remain disembodied on earth. Sometimes good souls could be buried in the house of the deceased, which is either abandoned or burnt to avoid interference by the surviving kin group. In this Akawaio tradition, the dead is buried with all his belongings for his future use.

The one area where speech originates is in the brain, in the same cavity as the mind zenuminggang yeng. Since language is a given, it is only activated after birth when a child breathes the air, the medium of communication, for the first time. If any child
grows up unable to speak, the child is deemed to be a bad spirit re-incarnated, sent to
punish families who may have done evil things. This is why it is always very hard to find
husbands and wives for mute individuals in Akawaio society, who are called ‘miyaimu
bing’ meaning ‘one without speech’. They are also treated very differently by their
relatives and other people at all times.

2.5 The Influences of Akawaio Spirituality on the Akawaio Language

The implications of the Akawaio spiritual worldview is evident in all aspects of
their culture, and the focus in this section is on the obvious ways in which it has
influenced the Akawaio language. It will be shown how they perceive speech and
language, and how this perception is mirrored in classification of the speech genres under
study (see Chapter 5). Of course, the detailed study will be limited to Akawaio speech
classifications that will have implications for the speech genres analysed in this study. In
addition, this section provides a snapshot of the interrelatedness that exists between all
aspects of Akawaio culture, illustrating why it is difficult to separate ‘ways of speaking’
from all other forms of Akawaio social life.

First, extrapolating from the previous discussion on Akawaio spirituality, it is
observed that maing ‘speech’ emanates from within the cosmos. It comes from the wind
and is acquired at birth when a child breathes and makes contact with the air, the medium
of communication. Speech is a given spiritual skill and the foundations for activating it
lie in the human head in the brain cavity. Within the cosmic divisions of the human body,
the brain is defined as the high place of knowledge, understanding, and intelligence. It is
not surprising therefore, that the Akawaios locate the foundations of speech within this
area, where the mind is also located. And although speech is a given, and exists within
the spiritual cosmos, it is only activated by some mechanism in the brain. This is why
\textit{maing} has a spiritual significance that could only be appreciated by the Akawaios.
Because all the other classifications of ‘ways of ‘speaking’ begin with the notion of
\textit{maing} ‘speech’, it appears to be the most basic category, and it is therefore considered as
the foundation of the basic semantic domain of Akawaio speech (see Figure 4.1).

Second, the spiritual implication for the word ‘\textit{ka’pong}’, which the Akawaios
have used to call themselves, is not a mere accident. Rather, it originates in the very word
\textit{ka’pong pada} ‘celestial world’ described in Akawaio cosmology as belonging to the
most sacred place in the sky, and the home of the first Akawaian ancestors who were
considered as the group of humans par excellence. Thus, the Akawaios have always
believed that they came from the sky, from \textit{ka’pong pada} ‘celestial world’. \textit{Ka’pong}
means ‘someone/something from the sky’ and its etymology lies in two words \textit{kak} ‘sky’
and \textit{pong} ‘on/from’. Today it has evolved to mean, depending on context, an Akawaio
person, any Amerindian person, or any human being/person at all.

Even so, the term for ‘people’ functions to define a tribal distinction, acting as a
special name, among many Amerindian groups in the Amazon (e.g., Guyaki- \textit{Ache}
meaning ‘the people’, the Arawete- \textit{Bide} ‘person’; Arawak-\textit{Lokono} meaning ‘the
people’, etc.). This is because spiritually, they view their communities as a totality with
an interior unity. For the Akawaios, this notion reflects how they see the cosmic universe.
Defining themselves in this way, calling someone non-ka’pong is sometimes pejorative,
disdainful and insulting (Fox 1997:57). One important spiritual reasoning behind this
distinction is that outsiders are seen as participating in humanity to a lesser degree, a
perception that affirms the superiority of each Amerindian cultural self and justifies the refusal to recognise others as equals (Clastres 1994:46).

This spiritual position is governed by divide law and was created by the 'ancestors', the founders of the society. To disobey this means the alteration of the body social for the Amerindians (Clastres 1994:156). Considering the discussion before on Akawaio spiritual identification, it is not surprising to note that they still remain apart from each other in the same district, and intermarriages are kept to a minimum. (Although signs of this changing were observed during the 1999 and 2001 field trips.) Each community still deliberately maintains a certain distance, both literally and figuratively creating the history of retaining distinct identities in terms of geography in the Upper Mazaruni District. Consequently, Akawaios living in the Kukui area call themselves kukuikoks 'tribe from kukui', those living at kako kagorgoks 'tribe from kako', and those who live within the Kamarang river range kamranigoks 'tribe from Kamarang'. These distinctions are maintained to avoid the diffusion of their identity as 'all with all', overgeneralising exchange and friendship. Distinctions are maintained to prevent their society from losing its individuality, which would be a movement towards social death, because the relationships within the small social group, and the uniformity of identity within that group, is the essence of life within that group. In a very important way, this is why warfare was always eminent in early Akawaio warrior societies, because violence had the structural status of maintaining group identity (Fox 1996:58).

Thirdly, as observed before, the foundations for Akawaio spirituality is based on the definition of the person in terms of the cosmos. This is centred around three terms in Akawaio; a'kwa 'brightness or light'; a'kwaria 'that which constitutes brightness',
therefore it is the ‘true soul’ or spirit or the life force/vitality found in living things and; 
\textit{a'kwari'pī} ‘shadow’, ghost or past-person. These words are now part of the Akawaio 
grammar and they have evolved to have other meanings while retaining their original 
forms. This is shown in Figure 2.1.
Figure 2.1. Showing Grammatical Connections between the Main Spiritual Concepts derived from a'kwa ‘brightness, light’
(1) *a'kwa* (n) is still ‘brightness, light’ and *a'kwa* (Vtr) also means ‘to scrape something until it is polished’; *a'kwabe* (adv) means ‘very bright’, *a'kwazak* (n) mean ‘something that is polished’.

(2) The etymology of *a'kwari* (n) ‘that which constitutes brightness’ or ‘true soul/spirit’ originates from two words *a'kwa* ‘brightness or light’ and *ari* ‘contents’, hence its literal meaning ‘the contents of light’. *Ari* ‘contents’ has given way to several forms, such as *ari’tō* (v) ‘to fill up a container’ where -*tō* is a suffix, the morpheme indicating ‘to provide someone/something with the item bearing the suffix, in this case providing a container with contents, and *ariga* or *arga* (v) meaning ‘to vomit’ or ‘to empty a container’ (lit. ‘deprive something of contents’).

(3) *A'kwari'pī* (n) ‘shadow, ghost, past or ex-person’ is a further development of the *a'kwa* paradigm. When the suffix -*pī* ‘Past, ex-’ is attached to *a'kwari* ‘spirit/soul’, it means ‘what was a spirit/soul’, or the soul/spirit in the past, the shadow, the ex-person. This same suffix, as both -*rīpī* and as -*pī*, is found on nouns throughout the grammar indicating ‘what used to be in the past’, and on verbs (only as -*pī*) as the general term that indicates past tense in Akawaio (see Chapter 3 for more details). There are other forms which have evolved from *a'kwari* ‘spirit/soul’ such as *a'kwarga* (v) ‘to force someone against their will’, created by adding the suffix -*ga* ‘deprive/remove’ to the root *a'kwari*, meaning literally ‘deprive someone of their spirit/soul.’ From this verb stem comes the
further nominalization *a'kwargazak* (n) ‘someone who was forced to do something against their will’.

There are other ways in which the Akawaio spirituality has influenced the grammatical structure of the Akawaio language. Such areas are the Akawaio possessive and plurality systems. Thus, the assertion made in Akawaio spirituality about the uniqueness of a person bears fruit in the notion that every person bears the principle of the inviolate basic integrity. This reasoning runs through even the morphology of the Akawaio language. For instance, words which express coercion in English cannot be translated into Akawaio in the same way. Consider English sentences like ‘The captain ruled his people at Waramadong’ which when translated in Akawaio would be *kiyaping ejī tidombadong a'kōrō Waramadong bo*, literally ‘The captain is with his people/relatives at Waramadong.’ Also, ‘I have a sister’ translates into Akawaio as *tiyagong ge eaik*, literally ‘I am with sister,’ ‘I am sistered,’ or even ‘I live with sister.’ ‘To be with’ or ‘to live with’ in an Akawaio sense is a way to express possession, hence it is used in this way as a mark of respect. In Akawaio this interpersonal reference is couched in the grammar and focuses on individual integrity, whereas expressing individual such uniqueness cannot be done in English except by using several words. Therefore a person in Akawaio society exists among other entities, and he is only one within this entity, and yet his status as an individual is also very powerful.

Another grammatical mirror of Akawaio spirituality is that many natural things within the environment cannot be grammatically possessed, a reflection of the fact that Akawaiaos spiritually view ‘things’ within the environment as unpossessible. Both animate and inanimate entities have souls and spirits because they are extensions of the
existence of the soul/spirit in humans and animals. However, some animate things have stronger, powerful and useful souls, which places them into the animate category. For instance, some plants have souls, power and vitality, therefore they have higher curing properties and are classified according to their potency. Some stones are also said to be powerful for curing illnesses and therefore are important items in the shaman’s paraphernalia. In addition, all forms of natural phenomena are classified as animate.

This reasoning here is that ‘owning things’ in Akawaio worldview precedes rules pertaining to possession in the Akawaio grammar. There is one main concept, iwanok ‘mine, my own,’ which could only refer to hammocks, boats, other hunting and household implements, pens, pencils, and shoes, but cannot refer to relatives, husbands, wives chickens, pets of all kinds, people, spirits, children, stars, moon, sun, sky, clouds, rivers, land, mountains and so on. English sentences like ‘This is my mountain’ cannot even be translated into Akawaio and make sense because urō wik serō which is the literal translation of ‘this is my mountain’ is never said, therefore will not make sense. Neither can Akawaioos perceive of a sentence like urō tuna serō ‘this is my river or my water’. Something of this kind can only make sense if reference is made to water in a bucket that one has in one’s possession. In this case, the acceptable Akawaio sentence is urō tuna’kwa-i serō ‘this is my water’ or urō iwanok serō tuna ‘this water is mine’.

People cannot be owned for the reasons described before about personal integrity, so captured war prisoners were taken by Akawaioos but were not owned. Most times these were women who contributed to the continuity of Akawaio culture. A person is a spiritual entity and has autonomy which is guided by a powerful spirit, which no one else has the right to own. Pets are referred to as just yīging ‘my pet’ and cannot be iwanok ‘mine, my
own’. One grammatical morpheme, -i ‘possessed’, marks only inanimate possessed
nouns, which does not include natural phenomena and other inanimate things that are
considered animate. Therefore, it can be attached to nouns such as yargö-i ‘my hat’;
samba-i ‘my adze’; ye’kiyari-i ‘my food’; benö-i ‘my pen’; gwareda-i ‘my book’ or
mira’ta-i ‘my door’. However, -i cannot become a suffix on such words as öudö ‘house’
to mean ‘my house’ because there is a less spiritual term which can make this possible.
Thus, urö iwik ‘my house’ is acceptable and possible in Akawaio but notice that there is
a completely different word used for a possessible house. The generic term for house
öudö defines the house as a spiritual entity, analogous to the human body therefore the
comic universe (Fox 2000).

Also, field linguists and anthropologists would even today observe the puzzled
look on the face of an Akawaio informant when asked for a word for ‘deer’ -- the answer
will be, “which one?” because there is the generic term zari ‘deer’ (general), then all the
particular types of deer such as kariaugi ‘brown bush deer’ (Mazama Nemorivaga);
waigeng ‘savannah deer’ (Cariacus Savanorum) and kusari ‘red-deer’ (Mazama
Americana) and collectively these animals are referred to as ok ‘game.’ Similarly, the
generic term for a female girl or woman is uri’chang but then there are many types of
Akawaio females such as; manjik ‘ritual name for female only used in healing chants’;
amö’nong ‘beautiful girl’; emaze ‘girl with menstruation’; manak agang ‘girl before
puberty’; ma’nung ‘kinship fond name for girl’; nosamichi ‘old woman’ or no’sang.
However, collectively these types can be defined into such types as uri’chami’chi ‘a set
of girls or women’; amö’nomichi ‘a set of beautiful girls’.
As a result, Akawaio speakers have great freedom in whether they choose to refer to an item as being either generic or particular. Generally, this way for classifying things is based in the Akawaio spirituality that constantly classifies things holistically, in the very way the spiritual cosmos is defined. This is why it is said to be interrelated and is an entity unto itself, a phenomenon *sui generis*. It follows that the Akawaio language reflects a particular type of spiritual worldview and therefore this has encouraged its speakers to communicate in a particular way. Thus, while English distinguishes between singular and plural because it divides the physical universe into individual items; the Akawaio perceive unified categories of beings or things, and within this collection choose to specifically identify an individual member of that category.

Finally, plurality in Akawaio in the traditional sense was not based on whether or not there was more than one of an item within a category. Rather, items were assessed collectively as mass nouns or as generic and particular forms, resulting in the absence of nouns which marked as singular and plural in the Akawaio grammar. In more recent times and because of contact with particularly western cultures, new plural forms have evolved that mimic English language structures. Presently, Akawaio has at least six plural forms: *yamök/amök*, -tong/-dong, -sang, -rang, nang, and gong/kong. Half of these are nominal or verbal suffixes, the other half postnominal and postverbal particles. The general rule of plurality in the Akawaio language is that *yamök/amök* could only be used with animate nouns, whereas -tong/-dong is free to occur with either animate or inanimate nouns. *Yamök/amök* in represents an innovative form, and has no grammatical cognates in even closely related Cariban languages; -tong/-dong reconstructs to Proto-Carib *tomo*, but in most modern Cariban languages it marks plurality only for animate
entities. So the old animate plural marking has extended its distribution in Akawaio, and a new form of marking the animate plural has emerged.

2.6 Akawaio Family Systems

The traditional Akawaio family included parents, children and other relatives who were either patrilineally or matrilineally related. Groups of large families give way to extended family systems or joint family systems. Presently, this extended family arrangement (though with some changes) still continues as the core of some Akawaio settlements. The ideal component of the size of extended traditional Akawaio family groups depended on either the arrival and departure of visitors, or on new alignments or desertions. However, the core of the extended family was an Akawaio man and his wife or wives, unmarried children and his daughter’s husbands and their children. Regardless, there could be various combinations of categories of relatives which could be created based on mutual liking and convenience. Included in such families were the elderly siblings of those who had lost their relatives (Butt-Colson 1954). Families live together in this way to cooperate in establishing farms, building new homes, feeding each other and taking care of their elderly relatives and their children while they attend school.

While they no longer live in one large family house, family members live in a cluster of small houses in the same location, to ensure that they are close to each other. This type of arrangement is still prototypical of communal life at Waramadong. Residences remain matrilocal and are economically motivated. Thus, an Akawaio man who takes a wife is expected to set up home with the girl’s parents at least until he can construct his own home near to his wife’s parents. This makes it easier for him to fulfil
his responsibilities to his in-laws, particularly by serving and assisting his father-in-law in all male related activities such as constructing houses, clearing farmlands for cassava cultivation, and making products for household use, fishing and hunting. These activities of the male and others that females have to do have now doubled as some Akawaios are now wage earners.

2.7 The Akawaio Economy

The Akawaios have free use of forest products from within their own territory or from other crown lands near to their homelands. Therefore, they utilised clay deposits for making pottery (a pastime they still indulge in today) and farm and hunt in the forest. The waterways are accessible to them for fishing and they are experts in making boats from the bark of the baromalli trees.

Their economy is still based on traditional subsistence farming and the most important crop grown by them is the bitter cassava egi yek, which accounts for 90% of the cultivated farm space. In the remainder of the farm they plant some root vegetables, fruits, bananas, pineapples, sugar cane, and hot peppers. Their staple diet consists of egi ‘cassava bread’ and tuma ‘pepperpot’, cooked with meat or fish or just with peppers and cassareep (a local condiment). They make a variety of local drinks from cassava, sweet potatoes, pumpkin, bananas, plantains, sugarcane and several combination dishes and snacks. In addition, they are involved in mining, some logging, small commercial businesses, wage earning jobs and bartering across the borders between Guyana and Venezuela, Guyana and Brazil, and Guyana and Suriname. There are even Guyanese
Akawaio business owners who travel as far as Columbia to acquire goods for sale in their Guyanese shops.

Over the years there have been attempts by the Guyanese government to introduce techniques of scientific farming and the growing of cash crops. This was a failure because there were some aspects of this that were not carefully planned to make it successful. At Waramadong the response to these attempts were very good and the residents were motivated to plant cash crops but transportation, storage and sale of such crops as cabbage, tomatoes, onions, peanuts and a variety of beans remained the biggest limitation for expanding such an economy. Today, slash and burn agriculture is still the most important livelihood of the Akawaios and is still the basis of their economy.

2.8 Education

Involving the Akawaios in the wage earning market depends on sound education and qualification. When this happens, there are still not enough jobs available for them in the local Akawaio communities. This is because the national Guyanese educational policy continue to perpetuate a mainstream approach to education, which cannot be appropriate to the needs of local Amerindian communities. It is geared towards a formal system that would only meet the needs of the job market in mainstream Guyanese society, and seems to have the main function of helping to integrate the Amerindian people into mainstream society. While there are advantages to this, education for Akawaios in this case has led to alienation, doubts about identity, detachment from roots, threats to traditional language, loss of respect for traditional Akawaio ways, a generation gap and communities that are in constant conflict.
One reason for this alienation is that education came together with Christianity, both striving to ‘domesticate’ the Amerindians. Thus, churches and schools formed the nucleus around which permanent Amerindian communities developed out of the more traditional semi-nomadic lifestyle. For example, in 1946 there was one mission school in the upper Mazaruni District; by 1970 there were four mission schools and one government school catering to 90% of the village population. As mentioned before, because education was the primary tool for integrating Amerindians into mainstream society, this process had to have some structure for implementing it. It was initiated first by the missionaries when their activities increased among the Amerindians in the mid-1800s. First, Anglicans and Roman Catholics began to work among coastal Amerindians and thereafter moved to the deep interior. Other denominations such as the Lutherans, Methodists, Presbyterians, the Pilgrim Holiness, the Seventh-day-Adventist and the Unevangelised Field Mission followed suit.

The strategy used by these denominations was to establish boarding schools for Amerindian children, to separate them from their parents as a means for re-socialising them under more “civilized” conditions (Fox 1986). For instance, in the Upper Mazaruni, Akawaio children were taken to Paruima Mission, a Pemong Arekuna village to attend the Davis Indian Training School established by the Seventh-day-Adventist at Kaikan, a selected location away from the Paruima village. Akawaio and Arekuna children lived solely at the dorms and were not allowed to go home whenever they wanted to. There were strict rules and regulations that were enforced, and corporal punishment was the punishment for breaking these rules. All mission children were to dress in western clothing and they were required to look even better on sabbath days. In many ways
children were away for long periods without any contact with their parents. In some cases, children were taken away to the United States and adopted. There are at least three Arekuna children who were taken away in the aftermath of this training school, who have never returned to Paruima even to visit their parents.

A recent development is the government’s hinterland scholarship scheme, which allows children from these areas to attend secondary schools in Georgetown if they have achieved the standard requirement marks in the secondary school entrance examination. This scheme is based on the premise that the exposure would adequately enable Amerindian students of greater ability to benefit from a core curriculum, in order to acquire certifiable knowledge and skills. Many Akawaio children have accepted this scholarship, but have found it difficult to adapt to their new environment; others have successfully finished their studies, but now cannot find jobs within their own communities.

Desire for access to secondary school education was a continuing issue among the Akawaios, but this issue has largely been resolved since the new secondary school was built at Waramadong in 1999, intended to serve the entire Upper Mazaruni. The only problem is that education within such a school operates on an English-only basis, causing older parents and grandparents to complain that this was causing barriers to communication between them and their children and grandchildren. For such Akawaio parents, the kindergarten school is particularly annoying and threatening to them and their language, because young Akawaio children are taught in English at an early age, and they are even pressured to speak it at home. Grandmothers were annoyed because in
some cases they could no longer understand what their four year old grandchild was saying to them because it was in English.

Another problem has been that young Akawaio children attending kindergarten and primary schools are seen as speaking a hybrid Akawaio/English dialect, described as the language of confused Akawaio children (Field Interviews 1999, 2000 conducted at Waramadong). This does not mean that Akawaio parents do not subscribe to education, because they do, but they are horrified by the quick changes it is bringing to the next generation of Akawaio speakers. Parents and other local interests are not consulted during the planning stages, which are carried out quietly in institutionalised state-controlled environments, dominated by non-Amerindian educationists. But even with all these changes going around them, every single Akawaio in the Upper Mazaruni is fluent in the traditional language, Akawaio. Akawaios are just very proud people and the core of this is being able to speak their own language. There are still adult Akawaios who cannot speak English regardless of the long contact they have had with English and English speakers. Therefore village meetings, church sermons and social events are still conducted in this Akawaio. There is still the need for a translator if an event is going to be conducted in English for the benefit of the elders who cannot understand it.

Summarizing this discussion on the ethnography of the Akawaio people, it is clear that they are a distinct Amerindian group who inhabit communities located in the highland regions of Guyana. A brief insight into how Akawaio territory was politically defined as the Upper Mazaruni District served to access the political role the state machinery plays in the administration of Amerindian communities in general. This helps to comprehend the degree of acculturation and social change and the general threat this
poses for the Akawaio language at Waramadong. In addition, this is also part of Akawaio history which is important to compare with the oral history of Waramadong as told by the village elders during the field research. In particular, it serves to pinpoint the historical antecedents prior to its settlement, in order to understand the present settlement and migration patterns which had lead to Akawaio language variation.

A main focus of this ethnography has also been 'Akawaio spirituality' along with Akawaio identity, family organisation, economy and education. This was important since it is the core of Akawaio life and is particularly useful for examining the influences it has on the Akawaio grammar, hence their 'ways of speaking'. Generally, these socio-political, socio-cultural, socio-economic and linguistic antecedents serve to set the stage for understanding past and present Akawaio life, their speech forms within this context, and thus they provide a pathway for understanding Akawaio language variation.

In conclusion, Akawaio could be described as living semi-traditional lives, and in spite of institutionalised cultural assimilation, they continue to retain their identity. The foundation for this retention is their language Akawaio, which is still spoken by most of the Akawaio population, in addition to speaking English, Spanish, Portuguese and several other Amerindian languages. It is no wonder that studies such as this one seek to redefine the Akawaio language as it strives to survive amidst the fervour of other language intrusions. This attempt is evident in the discussion that follows in Chapter 3, where Akawaio is placed in the Cariban language family, to identify it with its most closely related sister Amerindian languages. In addition, Chapter 3 offers a minimal sketch of certain aspects of the grammar and phonology of Akawaio.
Chapter 3

A Brief Sketch of the Grammar and Phonology of the Akawaio Language

This chapter provides a brief sketch of the grammar and phonology of the Akawaio language. First, it extrapolates from many earlier linguistic studies done on the language (Adam 1905, Edwards 1977, 1978b, 1980, Stegman 2000), to trace the history of Akawaio language study and the implications this has for the changes that are observed in the text data under study. Then the grammar sketch is presented, primarily to serve as a resource to help understand the analysis of the texts appendices. In this way, information is also made available to comparative linguistics to the classification and reconstruction of the Cariban language family, two research areas that are still not properly defined and standardized within the family.

The grammar sketch is limited to a brief presentation of the verbal inflectional morphology encountered in the annotated texts, designed to show how they fit together into systems, and somewhat to show their allomorphy. One resource that will be drawn upon as part of this description is work in progress by the researcher and Spike Gildea towards a reference grammar of Akawaio. In future work, a lexicon should be created with a list of all lexical roots and some complex stems as encountered in the annotated texts and the sociolinguistic questionnaires. Much farther in the future, the researcher and Gildea hope to collaborate on a full dictionary with illustrative examples for each allomorph and meaning of each morpheme.
3.1 Previous work on Akawaio

There seems to be very little work done on the Akawaio language in the past. The few publications that exist cover the periods between 1893-2002. The first attempt was the work of Reverend William Brett, who published Akawaio translations of the first part of Genesis and the gospel of St. Matthew, with extracts from other gospels, in 1893 and 1898 respectively. While this cannot be compared to a grammar sketch, it was a record of at least one dialect of Akawaio spoken at the time in Guyana. The other important aspect of this is that it represented a record of the Akawaio language spoken by speakers who lived at missions in the Pomeroon and Moruca Districts. According to Brett, these Akawaios were migrants from such areas as Barama, Waini, Cuyuni and other rivers between the Orinoco and the Essequibo. These are all areas within which there are few or no existing Akawaio communities today. The Pomeroon and Moruca is now the home lands of the Arawak (Lokono), the Warraus and the Caribs (kari'na) and is politically defined as the Northwest District. Today the Akawaios are mostly settled in the Upper Mazaruni District, which was declared a reservation in the early 1950s (see Chapter 2).

At a glance, it is evident that the Akawaio spoken today is quite different from the Akawaio presented in Brett’s work. It is not clear how much of the difference is due to dialectal variation and how much to Brett’s translations and his writing system, which missed many important Akawaio phonemic distinctions.

The second study was the first grammatical sketch of Akawaio, done in 1905 by M. Lucien Adam in his Grammaire De L’Accawai, which was based solely on the just-mentioned Akawaio translations by Brett. In the first footnote to this study, Adam quotes Brett (in English) as saying that ‘the dialects of the Akawaio language varied
considerably owing to the vast extent of the country over which it is spoken.’ (Adam 1905:43). He further stated that there were in Akawaio some sounds, both vowels and consonants, which the English language could not accurately express (Adam 1905: 43, 44). This first linguistic description of Akawaio presents such grammatical components as rules for pronunciation, rules governing pronouns, indefinite adjectives, interrogatives, argumentatives and dimunitives, conjunctions, verbs, future tense, imperatives, future imperatives and present participles. However, Brett’s orthography (and thus all of Adam’s examples) is missing a way to represent the two central vowels and has various problems with consonants, especially the crucial glottal stops. These must be mistakes, as Adam’s ‘Accawai’ forms seem to be more changed from modern Pemón and Makushi than is modern Akawaio; another 150 years of linguistic change should have made modern Akawaio still more different. The other issue is that because Adam’s data came solely from the texts translated by Brett, it is not clear to what extent the Akawaio language presented in his study might have been representative of even that dialect of Akawaio as spoken in real situations and contexts.

Following these attempts, there were other translation attempts in the late 1900s. Thus, the Seventh-Day-Adventist Missionaries have translated parts of the bible and published a booklet of gospel songs and scripture lesson study booklets in the Akawaio and Arekuna languages. The initiatives of Elder Cott and his wife and Elder Cascalan are well known to the Akawaios and the Arekunas, both at Waramadong and Paruima. However the direct sources cannot be quoted at this time because of their unavailability in the libraries in Georgetown. Personal copies of some older residents of Waramadong have been long destroyed, and in the attempt to see a copy of what is perhaps the last
song booklet would have entailed a 30-mile journey on foot to a satellite Akawaio community.

The third attempt for studying the Akawaio came with the launching of the hydro-electric power project in the Upper Mazaruni District. As an answer to this, the Amerindian Languages Project -- now known as the Amerindian Research Unit -- was established at the University of Guyana by Guyanese sociolinguist, Dr. Walter Edwards. The aim was to capture the Akawaio and Arekuna languages within the existing communities in anticipation of the massive resettlement drive which was to accompany the development of a hydro-electric power dam in the Upper Mazaruni District. An entity known as the Upper Mazaruni Development Authority was mandated to administer the Project to tap new resources for cheap energy for Guyana. This meant that the Upper Mazaruni, the homelands of the Akawaio and the Arekuna, was to be flooded extensively, resulting in resettlement schemes that would have interrupted the lives of these two groups, perhaps affecting the viability of their languages.

The Amerindian Languages Project began to address this situation by going to work on the description of both the Akawaio and Arekuna languages. In 1977, the first publication was released, entitled An Introduction to the Akawaio and Arekuna Peoples of Guyana. Within its pages were a short history of the two groups, a brief linguistic introduction of the two languages and substantial trilingual word lists, resembling a dictionary with English entries keyed to Akawaio and Arekuna translations. This list covered a wide area of vocabulary, organised under headings such as animals, birds, household implements, fishes, greeting and the numbering system. There were also two
Akawaio and Arekuna story texts that were translated, paying attention to their literal and free translations in English.

This publication was followed by a series of short linguistic articles written by Walter Edwards (1978a-b). Thereafter, a second major publication was released (Edwards 1980), entitled *A Short Grammar and Dictionary of the Akawaio and Arekuna Languages of Guyana*, published by the Amerindian Languages Project, University of Guyana. This dictionary was to be the first of several, and it was prefaced with a historical introduction and a linguistic introduction, mainly dealing with the phonemic structure, order typology, pronouns, articles, personal prefixes, possession, number, copular constructions, tense and aspect and imperatives in both Akawaio and Arekuna. The dictionary was structured in such a way that there was a section with Akawaio/Arekuna words translated into English, then an English to Akawaio/Arekuna section. The words in the publication were organised in conventional dictionary fashion, in alphabetical order from A to Z, even though there were some letters within this range that were non-existent in the Akawaio and Arekuna languages.

So both Edwards (1977) and Edwards (1980) gave extensive lists of words, and the very rudimentary beginnings of an Akawaio grammar sketch. However, Edwards' writing system did not capture all the vowel distinctions well, while his understanding of Akawaio grammar was extremely limited. This limitation is clearly shown by the absence of any analysis of morphological complexity in the language, the inconsistency of the orthography used to record the Akawaio wordlists, and a syntactic analysis that simply imposed the English part of speech analysis onto the Akawaio lexical items.
Eighteen years after the completion of Edward’s work came a new interest in Akawaio, shown in the examples of Akawaio sentences in Spike Gildea’s (1998) publication, *On Reconstructing Grammar: Comparative Cariban Morphosyntax*. Gildea’s examples were taken from Adam (1905) and Edwards (1977).

In 1998-99, a field methods class on the Akawaio language was conducted in the linguistics department at Rice University, Houston, Texas; in 1999-2000, Akawaio was again selected as the language for field methods. The efforts of the graduate and undergraduate students in this second class resulted in the initial development of the Shoebox database in Akawaio. In addition, student papers from both classes were written on various aspects of the Akawaio language, covering a wide area of themes, including vowels, nominalizations, causatives, certainty particles, negation and argument structure. There was also an attempt to standardise a temporary writing system for use in a possible future Akawaio literacy program.

In January, 2000 Ray Stegeman, a missionary and Bible translator attached to the Summer Institute of Linguistics, presented aspects of his work on Akawaio at the Annual Meeting of SILLA in Chicago. He presented the first scientific results of his project in a paper entitled *A Brief Grammar Sketch of Akawaio*. The dialect of Akawaio upon which the study was based is spoken at Jawalla, Kukui river in the Upper Mazaruni District. Stegeman’s paper outlined his analysis of the phonemic inventory of Akawaio, then mostly focused on the structure of noun phrases. The usefulness of Stegeman’s work is in the study of another dialect of Akawaio in the Upper Mazaruni, which can serve as the basis for comparison in future studies of Akawaio.
Most recently, in 2002 Anatol Stefanowitsch, a PhD student in linguistics at Rice University, published ‘Causative Constructions in Akawaio.’ Stefanowitsch’s study is based on the data he elicited during the field methods class in 1999-2000 at Rice University. Until recently these were the only studies done on the Akawaio language.

Currently, the author of this dissertation is involved in a project to write a descriptive grammar of Akawaio and to develop a dictionary, collection of traditional texts and educational materials.

3.2 Classification of Akawaio within the Cariban family

There is almost no data for evaluating the present linguistic and anthropological classifications for categorizing Cariban languages, much less to explain clearly the place of Akawaio within this language family. This is due to the lack of good descriptions of lexicon and grammar for most Cariban languages (see Gildea 1998, Chapter 1), and in particular for the Akawaio language and the languages it is most closely related to.

Girard (1971) remains the only work that actually uses modern data to make family-wide comparisons, which then support reconstructions and classifications of the Cariban language family. But his work is based on a very small amount of weak data (Gildea 1998.6-11). The absence of reliable data remains core to disagreements about the placement of the Akawaio within the family. Girard (1971) placed the Akawaio with the Carib (kari’na, Carib proper, Galibi) group while Durbin (1977) saw them as a subgroup of the Makushi, Pemong and the Purucoto within his wide schema of the East-West-Guiana branch. Migliazza (1985) placed some 28 languages taken from the literature into six actual linguistic communities; Makushi, Arekuna, Taurepang, Kamarakoto, Akawayo
and Patamuna but then, based on his field notes, he suggested that the speech of these six communities actually only constitutes three separate languages consisting of Pemong (with dialects Arekuna, Kamarakoto and Taurepang); Ka’pong (with two dialects Akawaio, and Patamuna) and Makushi (Gildea 1998:5). Kaufman (1994) makes Pemóng, Kapóng and Makushi the only three members of his Pémong Proper Subgroup, adding Purucotó to make up the Pemóng Group. Gildea (2000) accepts Kaufman’s Pemóng Group, but he links it to his Venezuelan Branch (Figure 2).

It seems like modern specialists all agree that Migliazza was correct in putting these six ‘language’ names into a single, close group, but nobody really agrees on where this group belongs in the larger Cariban family.

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 3.1. Relationships Amongst some Cariban languages of Guyana and Venezuela**

(cf. Gildea 2000)
And the question continues as to whether even Migliazza’s three ‘languages’ are distinct enough to be considered separate languages. This is based on the fact that a speaker of Arekuna can communicate with an Akawaio speaker without any problems and this is also true for the Makushis understanding the Arekuna. On the other hand, Akawaio have some difficulty communicating with the Makushis while it is very comfortable for them to communicate with the Patamuna who they also call Ingari’ko. The general conclusion is that although there are certainly several differences, conversation is not a major problem. While all these groups recognize this, they have individually seen themselves as distinct peoples both for political and ethnic reasons. From the perspective of the speakers, the names Kapóng and Pemóng mean “people” or “person,” not the names of their languages. And while the Akawaio do call themselves ka’pong, the Patamuna people call themselves patamuna, from pata ‘place’ plus muna ‘native of.’ The speakers of at least these two “dialects” would probably object, both to being lumped together as speakers of a single “language” and to the name chosen for that “language.”

It seems, therefore, that more linguistic work is needed to place the Akawaio into an accurate category both inside and outside the Cariban Group. This study (and more work in progress) will provide some useful data for that purpose, but until somebody else comes up with similar data for the other Cariban languages, conclusions must stay tentative.
3.3 The Grammar Sketch

3.3.1 Phonology

Table 3.1 shows a table of the phones encountered in the author’s own dialect of Akawaio, from Abamang. As can be seen, Abamang Akawaio has greatly elaborated the inventory of consonants. The changes can be categorized in three major groups: palatalization, voicing, and debuccalization. Palatalization created š, tš and ɲ; voicing created b, d, g, z, ʒ, and dʒ; debuccalization created ʔ and ŋ (Gildea 2001). Makushi and Pemón dialects show both the palatalization and the debuccalization, but not the voicing. In vowels, an apparently unconditioned split occurred in which many *o > ə in the Venezuelan branch of the Cariban family (Gildea 2001). In a more recent second split, a subset of *e > ɛ and *o > ɔ.

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<th>ʔ</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>i</th>
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<td>j</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1. Inventory of Phones in Abamang Akawaio

Table 3.2 shows the current orthography used for Abamang Akawaio, which conservatively indicates nearly all of the phonetic differences from Table 3.1. The examples throughout the rest of the dissertation use this orthography, rather than the IPA, except in some cases where a particular phone is highlighted.
Table 3.2. Abamang Akawaio Orthography

The distribution of these phones is complicated, and it is possible to have different analyses of “underlying form,” some more abstract, some more closely identified with surface form. The important allophonic patterns to note are (i) that [3] and [d3] are in free variation, and hence are represented by the same orthographic symbol, ʃ, and (ii), that the actual pronunciation of the glottal stop may vary between a full glottal occlusion, gemination of a following voiceless obstruent, and omission (leaving only the otherwise anomalous intervocalic voiceless obstruent to indicate its presence). The orthography does not distinguish between these pronunciations, and it might even be argued that in more frequent lexical items, the glottal stop should no longer be indicated.

No detailed analysis of Akawaio phonology has been published (although see Edwards 1978a-b), and such an analysis is outside the scope of this study, since the actual pronunciation is more relevant for understanding dialectal variation.

3.3.2 The Morphosyntax of Set I Clauses

The Set I verbal system across the Cariban family has been described in Gildea (1998). The Akawaio Set I clause type is typical of the rest of the family: the personal prefixes indicate both subject and object, with no clear nominative-accusative or ergative-
absolutive pattern seen in the forms of the verbal prefixes or the case-marking. When 3A acts on 3O, the O generally precedes the verb and the personal prefix n- '3A3O' disappears (1a-c). When there is no explicit 3O, 3A/3S may precede the verb, but the prefix remains (2a-b).

(1)a. tok rō bada eboroi
tok rō pada eboro -i
3Pl Emph home find -RPst
'They reached home.' (RA Piyai'ma Story 093)
b. iwarga eboroi
iwarga eboro -i
monkey find -RPst
'He found the monkey' (RA Kone'o Story 043)
c. piyai'ma tok arōi
piyai'ma tok arō -i
giant 3Pl carry-RPst
'The piyai'ma took them away.' (TL Piyai'ma 025)

(2) a. ganang önîk rō namo be urō damo negamadai
kanang önîk rō namo pe urō tamo n- egama -dai
again who Emph Uncrtnty like 1Sg uncle 3A3O- tell -Past
I do not know again what my uncle called it' (EW Tareng 119)
b. höp! parimō boro ji tok nabūrimi
höp parimō boro ji tok n- abūrimi -i
take.off Paruima via Emph 3Pl 3S-escape-RPst
"'Höp!' (They took off) They escaped through Paruima' (RA Piya'ma Story 081)

The personal prefixes on the verb are the clearest indication of the Set I system. Although the 3A1O and 3A2O prefixes are also found in the other verbal systems as personal prefixes (referring to 1 and 2 Absolutive), the rest of them are found only on Set I verbs. The prefixes and the allomorphs encountered in these texts are listed in (3). The entire set of prefixes is given in Table 1, followed by paradigms for both transitive (4) and intransitive (5) verbs of different phonological shapes.
(3) '1A30' s-/ chi- (/si-/)
     '1S' Ø-/w-
     '2A3)/2S' m(i) -, ma-
     '3A3O/3S' n(i) - / (i)n-
     '3A1O' u(y) / Ø(y) -
     '3A2O' a(y) / e-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1A</th>
<th>2A</th>
<th>3A</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1O</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ku(y) -</td>
<td>u(y) / Ø(y) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2O</td>
<td>kan(y) -</td>
<td>urō m(i) -</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3O</td>
<td>s-/chi-</td>
<td>m(i) -</td>
<td>n(i) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S only</td>
<td>Ø-, w-</td>
<td>m(i) -</td>
<td>n(i) -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 The Set I Personal Prefixes

(4) 'see' 'taste' 'eat (nuts)' 'talk about' 'give' 'do'
     1A3O senei sombai sōgui chibadagai chidiiri chigubibi
     2A3O menei mombai möguıi mibadagai midiri mögubibi
     3A3O nenei nombai nōgui nībadagai niidiri nīgubibi
     3A1O (u)yenei (u)yombai (u)yōgui (u)badagai (u)diri (u)gubibi
     3A2O eenei aombai ayōgui abadagai adiri agubibi
     2A1O kuyenei kuyombai kuyōgui kubadagai kudiiri kugubibi
     1A2O kanyenei kanyombai kanyōgui kambadagai kandiiri kanggubibi

(5) 'go' 'say' 'see, self' 'walk' 'enter' 'escape'
     1S (u)döi guali (u)zenei (u)bindimi ewomi abiriimi
     2S mïdöi mïgai mïzenei mïbindimi mewomi mabiriimi
     3S nïdöi nïgai nïzenei nïbindimi newomi nabiriimi

Many speakers no longer use the 2A1O and 1A2O verb prefixes, preferring instead to use the 2A3O and 1A3O prefixes along with the appropriate O pronoun preceding the verb (6a-b).

(6) a. urō kwō mïbori'madō
    urō rî'kwō mï-bori'ma -dü
    1Sg Dim 2A-make.happy-Pl.Past
    'You all made me happy' (Claudine Bagot Personal Narrative 001)
b. amôrô senei
   amôrô s-cnc-i
   2Sg 1A3O-see-Past
   'I saw you.'

The Proto-Carib first person plural prefixes have all been lost in Akawaio. The inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns just agree with the third-person prefix (7a-b).

(7a. ö'rö be bra ri'kwörö nya nîgo'mangang
   ö'rö pe bra ri'kwô -rö nya n- ko'mami -ang
   what like Neg Dim -Emph 1+3 3S- live -Pres
   '...we are living without anything almost' (Lester Eugene Personal Narrative 098)

b. môrô gaza urô'nogong ne'pö'tai
   môrô kaza urô -nogong n- ejî-bôdî-dai
   that like 1Sg-Pl 3S-be -Hab-Past
   'We always used to be like that.'

The Set I personal prefixes only occur with the Set I verb inflections, a set of final inflections that mark combinations of tense, aspect, mood, and number. The detailed semantic analysis of the meaning of each suffix is left to future research; Table 3.4 gives a rough idea of the meaning of each suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rough Meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present (certain, SAP A/S)</td>
<td>-(y)aik</td>
<td>-(y)adaïk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present (3A/S or uncertain SAP A/S)</td>
<td>-(y)ang</td>
<td>-(y)adôu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imm. Past / Permissive (let Agt V...) / Past.Uncertain (questions)</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-dôu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distant past</td>
<td>-dai</td>
<td>-dandôu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4 The Set I Tense-Aspect-Mood-Number Suffixes.

(8)  sengyaik  'I see it'
     mengyang  'Are you seeing it?'
     nenêi     'S/he saw it'
     sendai   'I saw it'
     mengydôik 'You-all are seeing it'
     mengyadôu 'Are you-all seeing it?'
     mendôu   'Did you'-all see it?'
     mendandôu 'You-all saw it'
The singular suffixes are the most common. The plural form of the suffix occurs primarily with a plural second person A, S or O participant; it does not occur with any other persons of A, S, or O. Sometimes plural participants may be indicated with the iterative suffix -bōdī (see Section 3.3.6). Examples of each suffix follows, with separate examples of all three meanings of -i (11-13).

(9) a. mōrō gaza rōgeng idodo ezeru chi'tu'aik
mōrō kaza rōgeng idodo ezeru si- i'tu -aik
that like only killer way 1A-know-Pres
'Like that is all I know of the way of the idodos.' (EW Kanaimō 140)

b. nīgaaik ne go
  n- ka -aik ne ko
3S- say -Pres particularly Emph
'It says' (CB Personal Narrative 053)

(10) a. nīgabō'ang ne tok ko
  n- ga -bōdī -ang ne tok ko
3S- say -Iter -Pres particularly 3Pl Emph
'So they constantly say' (EW Kanaimō 016)

b. nai gaza mīgu'yang?
  nai gaza mī- gubī -ang
what like 2A- do -Pres
'How are you doing?' (CB Personal Narrative 025)

(11) a. narōi.... wīk pona
  n- arō -i wīk pona
3A3O- carry -RPst mountain to
'He took him to the mountain' (RA Eagle Story 028)

b. mīgadōunek kaza
  mī- ga -dōu -nek gaza
2Sa- say -Pl.Past -Rel like
'like (what) you all said…' (R Personal Narrative 072)

(12) ò'rō gang mazebaranḍōgabīi ....
ò'rō gang mī- zebarandō -gabī -i
what for 2Sa-get.in.trouble-Cmpltv-RPst
'Why did you become a victim?' (RA Piyā'ma Story 078)
(13) tōwō ji ne'nonggai no'sami'chi berō sak yenazak mö
   tōwō n- e'- nongga-i no'sami'chi be -rō sa'ne y-enä -zak mö
   let 3S-Detr-leave -Perm old.lady like-Emph Emph 3-become-Perf Uncrtnt
'Well let her leave, she may have become an old lady' (R Personal Narrative 049)

(14) nīgadai ne tok ko
   n- ka -dai ne tok ko
   3S- say -Past particularly 3Pl Emph
'So they said' (EW Kanaimō 086)

Relative Clause Formation

Akawaio has a single relativizer, -nek 'Rel' that occurs only on Set I inflected verbs. If the relativized NP is plural, -nek may be followed by -nang 'Pl'.

(15) neza'pōdi'inek yai
  n- ezagī-bōdi'-i -nek yai
  3A3O- name-Iter -RPst -Rel through
'Through what she named…' (CB Personal Narrative 056)

(16) nīzaurogi'ih'ang
  n- zaurogi'-i -nek -nang
  3S- talk -RPst -Rel -Pl
'Those who spoke.' (CB Personal Narrative 003)

3.3.3 The Morphosyntax of Set II Clauses

The Full Set II verbal system across the Cariban family has been described in several publications by Gildea (1992; 1998, ch. 9; 2000). The Akawaio Full Set II verbal system includes a number of different verbal suffixes and some suffixes plus other particles. The past, perfect and nonpast are virtually identical to cognate forms that have been described for Makushi (Abbott 1990) and Pemóng (Armellada and Olza 1994, Álvarez 1999). The grammars do not describe a distinct future inflection for Makushi and Pemóng, and in Akawaio, several different forms appear to function interchangeably to indicate just the future, along with the nonpast form which can also indicate future as well as present. The Set II inflections are presented in Table 3.5.
Table 3.5 Set II Tense and Aspect Suffixes

The Set II verb does not need to have any person person-marking morphology at all if both subject and object nouns occur in the clause with it. If the absolutive noun occurs as a free form, it precedes the verb and has no case-marking. But if the absolutive noun is not in the clause, then the Set II verb bears a personal prefix referring to the S/O. If the ergative noun occurs as a free form, it bears an ergative postposition that varies a great deal in form depending on dialect: -uya, -ya, -wa, or -a 'Erg'. If the ergative noun is not in the clause, then the Set II verb bears an ergative enclitic referring to the A. In some dialects, a lexical subset of intransitive verbs take a verb class prefix, w- 'Sλ' between the absolutive prefix and the verb stem. There is no distinct I+2 absolutive prefix or ergative enclitic, but there is a unique first person plural inclusive person-marker, a verbal suffix -nnō '1+2S' that precedes the Set II tense-aspect suffix.

Table 3.6 Absolutive Prefixes and Ergative Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tō 'go'</th>
<th>sene 'see, self'</th>
<th>ko'mami 'live'</th>
<th>eji 'be'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>(u)-dō-'pī</td>
<td>(u)-zene-Ø</td>
<td>(u)-go'man-zak</td>
<td>Ø-e'-to'odong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>au-dō-'pī</td>
<td>au-zene-Ø</td>
<td>a-go'man-zak</td>
<td>e-e'-to'odong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>i-dō-'pī</td>
<td>i-zene-Ø</td>
<td>i-go'man-zak</td>
<td>y-e'-to'odong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2S</td>
<td>Ø-dō-nnō-'pī</td>
<td>Ø-zene-ng-Ø</td>
<td>Ø-go'man-nō-zak</td>
<td>Ø-e'-nō-do'odong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Col.S</td>
<td>au-dō-'pī-gong</td>
<td>au-zene-Ø-gong</td>
<td>a-go'man-za'-kong</td>
<td>e-e'-to'odong-gong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(18)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
& \text{tö 'go'} & \text{sene 'see self'} \\
1S & (u)-dö-do'pe & (u)-zene-Ø mörö \\
2S & au-dö-do'pe & au-zene-Ø mörö \\
3S & i-dö-do'pe & i-zene-Ø mörö \\
1+2S & Ø-dö-nnö-do'pe & Ø-zene-ng-Ø mörö \\
2Col.S & au-dö'-do'pe-'nogong & au-zene-Ø-gong mörö
\end{array}
\]

(19)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
& \text{ene 'see'} & \text{omba 'taste'} & \text{padaga 'talk about'} & \text{ögu 'eat'} \\
1A2O & e-ene-'pî-u-ya & a-omba-Ø-u-ya & a-badaga-dou'-ya & ay-Ø'-sau'-ya \\
2A3O & Ø-ene-'p-au-ya & Ø-omba-Ø-au-ya & i-badaga-do'-au-ya & Ø-Ø'-sa'-au-ya \\
3A1O & (u)y-ene-'p-i-ya & (u)y-omba-Ø-i-ya & (u)-badaga-doi'-ya & (u)y-Ø'-sai'-ya
\end{array}
\]

(20)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
& \text{tiri 'give'} & \text{kubi 'do'} \\
1A2O & a-dö-do'pe-uy-a & a-gubi-Ø-u-ya mörö \\
2A3O & i-dö-do'pe-au-ya & i-gubi-Ø-au-ya mörö \\
3A1O & (u)-dö-do'pe-i-ya & (u)-gubi-Ø-i-ya mörö
\end{array}
\]

As seen in the paradigms for padaga 'talk about' and ögu 'eat', the final segment of the suffixes -dok 'Future' and -zak 'Perfect' undergoes metathesis with the person marker of the first and third person ergative enclitics. Sometimes the second person form also undergoes this metathesis with the final segment of -zak 'Perfect', making the 1A and 2A forms of the verb sound identical.

(21)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
/i\text{-badaga-zak-u-ya/} & \rightarrow & [biadagazau'ya] 'I have talked about him' \\
/i\text{-badaga-zak-au-ya/} & \rightarrow & [biadagazau'ya] 'you have talked about him'
\end{array}
\]

The collective verbal suffix -gong 'Coll' follows the Set II tense-aspect suffix, marking collective 2S. The collective verbal suffix -'nogong 'Coll' follows the ergative enclitic, marking collective second person regardless of whether it is 2A or 2O, and collective 1O only when A is third person.

(22)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
1A2Col.O & e-ene-'pî-u-ya-'nogong & 'I saw all of you.' \\
2ColA3O & Ø-ene-'p-au-ya-'nogong & 'All of you saw him/her/it.' \\
3A1Col.O & (u)y-ene-'p-i-ya-'nogong & 'S/he/it saw all of us.' \\
2Col.A1O & (u)y-ene-'p-au-ya-'nogong & 'You-all saw me.' (**You saw us.**)
\end{array}
\]

Set II verbs can also take a form of the copula as an auxiliary, combining the perfect aspect and the past tense copula like English to get the past perfect (23a-b).
When the copula is the present tense form *mang*, the meaning added is less temporal and more modal, giving a sense that the speaker is quite sure of the truth of the statement (23c-d).

(23) a. tu gaijarō nam tumunggō yamōk enno'sai'ya ne'tai
tu gaijarō namo t- munggō amōk ennogī-zak -i-ya n- eji-dai
two in.number Uncrtnty 3.Rfl-children Pl send -Perf-3-Erg 3S-be-Past
'She had sent probably two of her children' (RA Personal Narrative 206)

b. *kamoro ye'sak esh'pī*
   kamoro yeb'ī -zak eji-'pī
3.Pl.Anim come-Perf be-Past
'They had come.' (EW Kanaimō 133)

c. *pasta abdool a nya mari'ma-'pī mang*
pasta abdool ya nya mari'ma-'pī mang
Pastor Abdul Erg 1+3 marry -Past 3.be.Pres
'Pastor Abdoool married us' (AE Personal Narrative 030)

d. *kago bona kajiri engik dōng mang*
kago pona kajiri eng -ik tō-nnō mang
Kako unto manioc.beer drink-Purp go-1+2S 3.be.Pres
'We are about to go to Kako to drink manioc beer.' (EW Kanaimō 123)
The Set II past tense, -'pī' 'Past' is sometimes used in repetition sequences with the
Set I past tense -'i' 'Recent Past' (24a-b) and in one text example it is used for the second in
a sequence of events that come one right after the other (25), so -'pī' and -'i' really can be
used to mark exactly the same type of past meaning, at least in narratives.

(24) a. *tok nība'kai, emengni'pī bo sa'ji*
tok n- pa'ka -i emeng-rī'pī po sa'ne ji
3Pl 3A3O-release-RPst a.while-Past.Psn Loc Emph Emph

   emengni'pī bo rō mūgī tok a bia'ka'pī
   emeng-rī'pī po rō mūgī tok ya i-pa'ka -'pī
a.while-Past.Psn Loc Emph Hes 3Pl Erg 3-release-Past

'They let him out after sometime, after sometime they let him out'
(TL Birdman Story 050)
b. *iwarga eboro'pïya mörö iwarga eboroi*
   iwarga eboro'-pï' -i -ya mörö iwarga eboro-i
   monkey find -Past-3-Erg A.I.? monkey find -RPst
   'Then he found the monkey, he found the monkey' (RA Kone'o Story 043)

(25)  *oroik!... wïk! tok nïwïugai, dïup! dia'mo'ka'pï ji mörö*
   orøik wìk tok n- wïuga -i dïup i-da'mo'ka -'pï ji mörö
   take.out cast 3PL 3A3O-point.at-RPst fall.down 3-fall.down-Past Emph A.I.?  
   'oroik! Wïk(SSW) they pointed the magic stick at her, dïup! She fell down then'  
   (RA Piya'ma Story 047)

There are so many examples of Full Set II past, perfect and nonpast verbs in the texts that no more will be offered here. However, in over 1,600 records, with easily more than 3000 inflected verbs, there are only 56 clear Full Set II future clauses. From these 56, the following examples have been pulled out to illustrate future uses of postverbal particles *mörö* (26a-c) and *ze* (27a-b), and of Set II suffix *-do'pe* (28a-c).

(26) a. *enza'i'ya a'tai, ama'tanïgïiya rö mörö*
   ene-zak -i -ya a'tai a-ma'tanïgî-i-ya rö mörö
   see-Perf-3-Erg if 2-destroy -3-Erg Emph Fut
   'If it sees you it will certainly destroy you.' (EW Kanaimô 082)

b. *mörö ge ji e'koi'mabôdi mörö*
   mörö ke ji e'- go'îma -bôdi mörö
   that Instr Emph Detr-cause.fever-Iter Fut
   'Because of that, you will have frequent fevers' (EW Kanaimô 087)

c. *ane ji e'sara'tôk, ka'pong be azaurogî mörö.*
   anê ji e'sara'tô-gö ka'pong pe a-saurogî mörö
   wait.Imp Emph start -Imper person like 2-talk Fut
   'wait and start, you will speak in Akawaio' (PS Personal Narrative 007)

(27) a. *môra'atai ko'mambe ku dö ze*
   môra'atai ko'mambe kuru tö ze
   at.that.ti evening Emph go Fut
   'I will go at that time, in the afternoon.' (RA Piya'ma Story 029)

b. *se gaza ning giubûuya ze.*
   se gaza ning i-gubi-u-ya ze
   this like Emph 3-do -1-Erg Fut
   'I will do it like this.' (RA Piya'ma Story 005)
(28) a. mòra'pai iwa -bök cji-nnò -dane endaga-nnò a'pai i-ma'tanígi-to'pe
   mòra'pai iwa -bök cji-nnò -dane endaga-nnò a'pai i-ma'tanígi-to'pe
   at that time search-Prog be 1+2S-while pass -1+2S when 3-destroy -Fut
   'Then while we are searching for it and while we are eating, we will destroy her.'
   (RA Piya'ma Story 035)

b. giuru'kado'pewa ta'pi
   i- giuru'ka-dopé-u-wa ta -'pi
   3-suck.off -Fut -1-Erg say -Past
   '"I will suck it," he said.' (RA Piya'ma Story 058)

c. ane ida'kórol zuaro'to'pe,
   ane i-a'kórol O- saurogí-do'pe
   wait.Imp 3-Instr 1S-talk -Fut
   'Well, I will talk with her.' (EW Tareng 099)

3.3.4 The Morphosyntax of Progressive and Desiderative Clauses

In addition to the Full Set II, Akawaio has two innovative inflections, the
Progressive and the Desiderative, that take nominative-accusative morphosyntax. These
two inflections both require a copular auxiliary, which is inflected for the person of the S
or A, the nominative. The intransitive verb that bears one of these inflections takes no
person-marking. For vowel-initial intransitive verbs, there is simply no personal prefix,
and for consonant-initial intransitive verbs, the non-agreeing prefix a- ‘Gen’ is generally
used (although there is dialectal variation, so sometimes the prefix is i- ‘Gen’ and
sometimes O-). The transitive verb that bears one of these inflections will either be
immediately preceded by the O NP, or will bear a prefix indicating O. For the
Progressive, the O prefix is identical to the absolutive prefixes described in section 3.3.3;
for the Desiderative, the first and second person prefixes are identical to the absolutive
prefixes, but the third person prefix is different.

The innovative progressive inflection is described for the rest of the Cariban
family by Gildea (1998, ch. 12), and for Akawaio in particular, by Gildea (2000). The
The Desiderative inflection is -bai ‘Desiderative’, source unknown (although possibly related to the postposition bai ‘from, through’). Unlike the pan-Cariban desiderative postposition, *-ce, which can take as its object a noun that indicates some item desired by the subject, or which can take as its object a nominalized clause with an oblique agent in the case that the subject desires an action to be undertaken by someone else, the suffix -bai only occurs on verbs, and only in the case that the subject of the clause is the one who wants to do the action described by the verb. The third person prefix for the desiderative verb is an- ‘3O.Desid’ (30a), which also co-occurs with any preverbal O NP (30b), including the first person pronoun (30c).
(30) a. anni'tubai eji nai
   an- i'tu-bai eji nai
3O.Desid- know -Desid be where
'I would like to know.' (PS Personal Narrative 002)

b. turonnō ammedabai me'ang
   turonnō an- eda-bai mī- eji-ang
another 3O.Desid-hear-Desid 2Sa-be-Pres
'Do you want to hear another one?' (EW Tareng 051)

c. pandong ri'kwō rō bek pōk urō anauro'ka'bai me'ang,
   pandong ri'kwō rō bek pōk urō an- auro'ka-bai mī- eji-ang
story Dim Emph QP WRT 1Sg 3O.Desid-tell -Desid 2Sa-be-Pres
'Do you want to tell me a story?' (PS Personal Narrative 067)

d. mōrau kuru eembai e'aik
   mōrau kuru a- eine-bai eji -aik
there Emph 2- see -Desid be -Pres
'I want to see you there.' (CB Personal Narrative 074)

The text examples of intransitive desiderative verbs show the expected lack of a
prefix on vowel-initial verbs (31a), but instead of illustrating the general prefix a- ‘Gen’,
which would be standard in the author’s dialect, the two consonant-initial verbs in the
corpus take no prefix (31b) or the general prefix i- ‘Gen’ (31c).

(31) a. enda'nabai ja' ye'tane
    enda'na-bai sa'ne y-eji-dane
    eat -Desid Emph 3-be-while
    ‘While it wants to eat’ (EW Kanaimō 034)

b. e'tane bra se gaza gabai e'aik
   e'tane bra zerō gaza ga -bai Ø- eji-aik
however Neg this like say-Desid 1S-be-Pres
   ‘However, this is what I want to say’ (R Personal Narrative 018)

c. diōbai ye'tane
   i- tō-bai y-eji-dane
   Gen-go-Desid 3-be-while
   ‘...while he wants to go, …’ (RA Personal Narrative 255)
3.3.5 The Morphosyntax of Imperative Clauses

There are many imperative inflections in Akawaio, the most common being the simple imperative -gö. But there are also forms that mean 'go and V' and 'come and V', a hortative, a mediated imperative (polite for second person, permissive for first and third person), and two vetatives (negative imperatives). Many of these imperative inflections have a collective form as well, indicating a collective subject of imperative. A summary of imperative suffixes can be seen in Table 3.7 below. Imperative inflections take some variations in personal prefixes, which are pointed out preceding the relevant examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-gö / -kō / -k</td>
<td>-dök</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go.and.Imper</td>
<td>-da / -ta</td>
<td>-dandök</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come.and.Imper</td>
<td>danĩkō</td>
<td>-danĩtök</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediated.Imperative</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>-dōik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hortative</td>
<td>-mbaik</td>
<td>-mbai'noğong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vetative</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-dōu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Permissive</td>
<td>-ning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7 Imperative Suffix Forms

The standard imperative is -gö, realized as -kō following the glottal stop and as -k following most vowels. When the imperative verb is transitive, 3O is treated differently than 1O: when the 3O NP precedes the imperative verb, there may be no prefix at all (1a) or a prefix an- '3O.Imper' (33c-d). A standard 0- '3O' prefix occurs on vowel-initial imperative verbs with no preceding NP (33b). The standard y- '1O' prefix occurs on vowel-initial imperative verbs with first person O (34). The intransitive imperative verb bears an invariant prefix -i 'Imp' on consonant-initial verbs (35a) and no prefixation on vowel-initial verbs (35b-c). The collective form of the imperative suffix is illustrated in 36a-b.
(32)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1O</td>
<td>y-eng-gö 'look at me!'</td>
<td>y-en-dök</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3O</td>
<td>Ø-eng-gö 'look at it!'</td>
<td>Ø-en-dök</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intr</td>
<td>ka'-kö 'say it!'</td>
<td>ka'-tök</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(33) a. abîne ji mîgî ayemu i'mogö
abîne ji mîgî a-emu i'mo -gö
wait Emph Hes 2-testicles split -Imper
'Wait, and now burst your testicles.' (RA Kone'o Story 036)

b. ane ji ombagö ta'pîya,
ane ji omba -gö ta -'pî -i -ya ane ji omba -gö
wait.Imp Emph taste -Imper say -Past -3 -Erg wait.Imp Emph taste -Imper
'So taste it,' he said, "Taste it."' (RA Kone'o Story 021)

c. ane ji biandomii anegamak, piyai'ma bandomii
ane ji i- pandong -i an- egama -gö piyai'ma pandong -i
wait.Imp Emph 3- story -Psd 3O. Imper- tell -Imper giant story -Psd
'Wait, please tell a story about piyai'ma' (TL Piyai'ma 021)

d. ane ji turonnörö annegamak
ane ji turonnö-rö an- egama-gö
wait.Imp Emph another-Emph 3O. Imper-tell -Imper
'Well, tell another one.' (EW Tareng 099)

(34) ane ji yeno'magö
ane ji y- eno'ma-gö
wait.Imp Emph 1O-throw -Imper
'Throw me now!!' (RA Kone'o Story 053)

(35) a. abîne se gaza diðö'kö,
abîne serò kaza i- tò -bôdi-gö
wait this like Imp-go-Iter -Imper
'Wait, go around like this!' (TL Piyai'ma 054)

b. abîne mîrau e'kö
abîne mîrau eji-gö
wait there be-Imper
'Wait! you stay there' (PS Duck Story 079)

c. ane ji e'sara'tök, ka'pong be azaurogi mörö.
an e ji e'sara'tö-gö ka'pong pe a- saurogi mörö
wait.Imp Emph start -Imper person like 2- talk Fut
'wait and start, you will speak in (like an) Akawaio' (PS Personal Narrative 007)
(36) a. tok igone gaga’tok
    tok i- konega -gabi -dök
    3Pl 3- make -Cmpltv -Pl.Imp
    'You (Coll) need to prepare them.' (RA Personal Narrative 239)

b. amunggamök auro'kabö'tök
    a-munggo amok auro'ka-bodi-dök
    2-children Pl tell -Iter -Pl.Imp
    'You (Coll) should tell your children.' (PS Duck Story 005)

Another set of imperative suffixes also indicates direction. The only one found in
these texts is -nda 'go.Imp', which takes the same Θ- '3O' prefix as the regular imperatives.

(37)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1O</td>
<td>y-en-nda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3O</td>
<td>Ø-en-nda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-en-nda</td>
<td>'go look at it!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intr</td>
<td>ka'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1O</td>
<td>y-en-dani'kö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuy-en-dani'kö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2O</td>
<td>Ø-en-dani'kö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-en-dani’kö</td>
<td>'come look at it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intr</td>
<td>katan’kö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(38) mörö boro enda taiya ji mörö
    mörö poro Ø- ene -da ta -i -ya ji mörö
    that via 3O-see -go.Imp say -3 -Erg Emph A.I.
    It is saying "Go and see around that way " (EW Kanaimö 019)

The mediated imperative is a polite command when used with second person.
When used with first person it translates as 'Let me ...' The suffix -ik 'Med.Imp' marks
the mediated imperative verb, and the Set I prefixes occur with the 1S (40a-b), 1A3O
(41a), and 2A (42a-b). However, one anomalous use of kang- '1A2O' was produced in a
'1A3O' context (41b); this form does belong to the paradigm as '1A3O', and an
explanation for this fact awaits further research. This inflection does not occur with
3A/3S, the analogous function being served by the Set I suffix -l 'Permissive' (cf. section
3.3.2).
(39) Singular                    Collective
1A  s-ene-ik                      'let me see it!'  em-bai'nogong
     kann-ene-ik                  'let me see it!'  kann-em-bai'nogong
1S  gwa-ik                       'let me say it!'  gwa-i'-nogong
2A  m-ene-ik                     'you must see it!' m-en-döik
2S  mĩ-ga-ik                     'you must say it!' mĩ-ga-döik

(40) a.  abîne döik                aga'ne'pe rö
        abîne O- tö-ik   aga'ne'pe rö
        wait 1S-go-Med.Imp short.while Emph
        'Let me go for a short while.' (RA Personal Narrative 256)

b.  ane                           English pe saurogiik
    ane English pe O- saurogi-ik
    wait.1Imp English like 1S-talk -Med.Imp
    '...but first let me say this in English' (EW Tareng 001)

(41) a.  abîne kuru tok kuru zaurogi sedadai'ya dö,
        abîne kuru tok kuru zaurogi si- eda-da-ik ya tö
        wait Emph 3Pl Emph talk 1A3O-hear-go-Med.Imp Emph Emph
        'Let me go and hear what they really have to say' (CB Personal Narrative 079)

b.  merchimu kannebodai'ya ibiyak
    merchimu-i kan- eboro-da-ik ya i-piyak
    medicine -Psd 1A3O?-find -go-Med.Imp Emph 3-near.to
    '...let me go and get some medicine by her' (CB Personal Narrative 063)

(42) a.  mörau kwō rö eji'ma meneik
        mörau r'kwō rö eji -i'ma mĩ- ene -ik
        there Dim Emph be -While 2A- see -Med.Imp
        'You must stay right over there and view it' (PS Duck Story 072)

b.  e'tane tisingnö jĩ mĩwönöik
    e'tane tisingnö jĩ mĩ-wönö-ik
    so one Emph 2A-kill -Med.Imp
    'So, you must kill one of them.' (RA Piya'ma Story 024)

Two examples of a hortative occur in the texts, both in the same example with intransitive verbs, with the suffix -nnö '1+2S' followed by the suffix -bai 'Hortative' (homophonous with the subordinate form -bai 'Desiderative'). In future research,
possible connections between the desiderative and the hortative, and between the mediated imperative and the hortative, must be investigated.

(43) \begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{Singular} & \textbf{Collective} \\
\textbf{Hort} & \textbf{ka-baik} & \textbf{ka-bai'-nogong} \\
\end{tabular}

(44) \textit{döngbai ganang esabonggangbai}  \\
dö-nnô -bai kanang e'- abongga -nnô -bai  \\
go-1\+2S-Hort again Detr-take.hunting-1\+2S-Hort  \\
'Let us go game-hunting again.' (EW Kanaimô 041)

The vetative is formed by the same suffix, \textit{-i}, that marks recent past, permissive, and past questions. The 1O prefix with the vetative is identical to the Set I 3A1O prefix, \textit{(u)y-}, which makes the inflected verbs in (46) formally ambiguous between their actual reading, 'Don't curse me' and the other three possible readings: 'S/he cursed me', 'Did s/he curse me?', and 'Let him/her curse me.' The 3O prefix with the vetative is \textit{kiž- '3O.Vet'} (47), and with intransitive verbs the vetative prefix is \textit{k- '2S.Vet'} (48a-d).

(45) \begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{Singular} & \textbf{Collective} \\
1O & \textit{y-ene-i} 'don't look at me!' & \textit{y-en-dôu} \\
 & \textit{kuy-ene-i} 'don't look at me!' & \textit{kuy-en-dôu} \\
3O & \textit{kiž-ene-i} 'don't look at it!' & \textit{kiž-en-dôu} \\
Intr & \textit{ki-ga-i} 'don't say it!' & \textit{ki-ga-dôu} \\
\end{tabular}

(46) \textit{yaböimabödîi, taböî'pî tok a, yaböimabödîi}  \\
y- aböîma -böî-i ta -böî'-pî tok ya y- aböîma -böî-i  \\
1O- curse -Iter -Vet say -Hab -Past 3Pl Erg 1O- curse -Iter -Vet  \\
"Don't curse me!" they said, "Don't curse me."
(TL Birdman Story 040)

(47) \textit{kižaböîmai}  \\
kiž- aböîma-i  \\
3O.Vet-curse -Vet  \\
'Don't curse him!'

(48a) \textit{abîne keba'kai \quad taböî'pî tok a}  \\
abîne k- eba'ka -i ta -böî'-pî tok ya  \\
wait 2S.Vet-come.out-Vet say-Hab-Past 3Pl Erg  \\
"Don't come out!" they said (repetitive).'
(TL Birdman Story 051)
b. abro'pona kadōi
   abro'pona k- tō -i
   into.the.middle 2S.Vet- go -Vet
   'Don't go to the middle of it!' (PS Duck Story 071)

c. abīne kazumīngnandōu,
   abīne k- azu'minamī -dōu
   wait 2S.Vet-play -Vet.Pl
   'Wait, (you-all) do not play!' (TL Piyai'ma 023)

d. kamu'tai tazang uzang ya e'tane, mu'ta'pī
   k- mu'ta -i ta-zak -ng u-sang ya e'tane mu'ta -pī
   2S.Vet-reproduce-Vet say-Perf -Style 1- mother ūrg although reproduce-Past
   'Although my mother said, "Don't make any children," I did.
   (RA Personal Narrative 233)

   A mediated vetative form occurs in one example, with a prefix kīz- 'Vet.2' and a
   suffix -ning 'Vet.2' (50). The mediated vetative inflection does not have a collective
   form.

(49) 1O y-en-ning 'don't let him see me!'
3O kīz-en-ning 'don't let him see it!'
Intr kī'-ka-ning 'don't let him say it!'

(50) amagoibe kīse'ning,
   a-magoi -be kīz- eji-ning
   2-sin -Attr Vet.2- be-Vet.2
   'Don't let it be your sin' (RA Personal Narrative 240)

   There are several lexicalized forms that have an imperative meaning built into
   them. Those attested in the texts are abī and abīne 'wait!' (51a) and miyarō / nyarō 'go!'
   (51b) in Abamang Akawaio. As indicated in example 51a, the Pemóng and Kwating
   Akawaio speakers say masa 'wait!' instead of abīne. It can also be seen throughout the
   texts that abī and abīne are used for more than just a request for more time, as they
   appear in many sentences apparently just to catch the hearer's attention (for illustration,
   look through the preceding examples, from 33 to 48).
(51) a. masa ta dok'a, abîne tadok pôk
masa ta tok ya abîne ta -dok pôk
wait! say 3Pl Erg wait say -Nzr for
'They say "masa" for "abîne".' (PS Personal Narrative 060)

b. miyarô, miyarô daiya no'sang chi be sa'ji, nyarô ingge bra
miyarô miyarô ta -i-ya no'sang ji be sa'ne ji nyarô ingge bra
get.going get.going say-3-Erg old.lady Emph like Emph Emph go! slowly Neg
"Get going!" she said like an old woman, "Go ahead quickly!"
(RA Piya'rama Story 043)

3.3.6 Subordinate Clause Morphosyntax

This section discusses verbal morphology that creates subordinate clauses other
than nominalizations. Three of these inflections create dependent purpose clauses, two
create dependent ‘while’ clauses, and one creates a participial clause. In each of these
three functional domains, at least one of the inflections creates a clause that is understood
to have the same subject as the main clause; in both the purpose and the while functions,
one inflection creates a clause that can have a different subject from the main clause.

3.3.6.1 Purpose Clauses

The three purpose clause inflections are -ik ‘Supine’, -ze'na ‘Purpose’, and -do'pe
‘purpose’. Following Meira 1999, the term ‘Supine’ is used instead of ‘Purpose of
Motion’. The supine is fairly rare, a fading reflex of Proto-Carib *-ce ‘Purpose of
Motion’, pretty much found only on vowel-final verb stems; -ze'na has replaced it
following most consonant-final verb stems, and even following some vowel-final stems.
Both -ik and -ze'na are only found as adverbial clauses dependent on verbs of motion, in
which the S of the verb of motion is understood to be coreferential with the S/A of the
purpose verb. The intransitive purpose verb bears no prefix or the invariant a- ‘Gen’, as
seen in 52. All five text examples of -ik occur on transitive verbs (53a-e), either with a third person prefix (53a-b) or with a preverbal O NP (53c-e). Surprisingly, in one case (53b), the main verb is a transitive verb of motion, arō ‘carry, take’; in this sole case, the A of the main verb is coreferential with the A of the supine verb.

(52)  enda’na-ik  ‘in order to eat’
      a-da’mo’ka-ik  ‘in order to fall down’
      amrang-ik  ‘in order to gather’
      a-gajida-ik  ‘in order to get fat’
      a-ma’ta-ik  ‘in order to die’
      a-nangguda-ik ‘in order to produce beverages’
      a-baga-ik  ‘in order to awaken’
      a-zarō-ik  ‘in order to walk about’

(53) a. yu’na’tōik  audōzak  a’Tai.
y-u’na’tō-ik  a-tō -zak  a’Tai
3-bury  -Purp 2-go -Perf when
‘When you go to bury it, …’ (EW Kanaimō 103)

b. mörōbanggong  ji  arō’piya  mörō  i’nō’panggaik
mörōbang-gong  ji  arō  -’pi  -i -ya  mörō  Ø-i’nō’pamī -ga  -ik
thereafter -Pl.Abs Emph  carry-Past-3-Erg A.I.?  3-cool.down-Caus-Purp
‘Then he took them in order to cool it (them) down.’ (EW Tareng 040)

c. kago bona kajiri  engik  dōng  mang
kago pona kajiri  eng  -ik  tō-nnō  mang
Kako unto manioc.beer drink -Purp go-1+2S 3.be.Pres
‘We are about to go to Kako to drink kajiri.’ (EW Kanaimō 123)

d. kajiri  engik  tok  eba’kagabī
kajiri  eng  -ik  tok  eba’ka  -gabī
manioc.beer drink -Purp 3Pl come.out -Cmpltv
‘They came out to drink kajiri’ (EW Kanaimō 130)

e. kane, tok e’kiyari enubaik  dō  tok, tok enubaik  kuru  eh, eh
kane  tok  e’kiyari enuba-ik  Ø-tō  tok  tok  enuba-ik  kuru  eh  eh
no  3Pl  food  teach -Purp 1-go  3Pl 3Pl teach -Purp Emph yes yes
‘No, I really go to teach (them about planting) their food, to teach them’
(RA Personal Narrative 170)

The second purpose inflection, -ze’na ‘Purp’, is virtually identical to -ik in all regards, except that it occurs more frequently in the texts, and it is considered the
standard form in the speech of the researcher. The sole text example of -ze’na with an intransitive verb comes in 54, where the purpose verb, agarangse’na ‘in order to cry’ bears the general prefix a- ‘Gen’, and the S of the main verb, amrannōzak ‘we have gathered’, is coreferential with the S of the purpose verb. In the transitive purpose verb, the S of the main clause is coreferential with the A of the purpose verb, and the O is indicated by personal prefix (55a-b) or by the O NP in front of the purpose verb (55c-d).

(54) tu’ke kuru amrannōzak pe egamazau’wa zerō
    tu’ke kuru amramī-mmō -zak be egama-zak-u-wa zerō
    many Emph gather -1+2S-Perf like think -Perf-1-Erg S.I.

    tu’ke rō za’ne agarangse’na,
    tu’ke rō sa’ne a- gwaramī-ze’na
    many Emph Emph Gen-cry -Purp

    ‘I thought a lot of us would have been gathered here, many of us to cry,…’
    (R Personal Narrative 013-014)

(55) a. ense’na dōgabī zerō
    Ø-ene-ze’na tō -gabī serō
    3- see-Purp go-Cmpltv S.I.
    ‘I think I will go and see it now’ (PS Duck Story 065)

d. a’chise’na ji ye’sak inggebra
    Ø-a’chi-ze’na ji Ø-yebī-zak inggebra
    3- hold-Purp Emph 3-come-Perf quickly
    ‘He (the tiger) had come quickly to grab him (kone’o)’ (RA Kone’o Story 046)

c. kamoro rōning sa’ne karambase’na amrannōzak
    kamoro nōning sa’ne karamba -ze’na amramī-mmō -zak
    3.Pl.Anim only Emph make.cry-Purp gather -1+2S-Perf
    ‘We have gathered here to only mourn those ones.’ (R Personal Narrative 015)

d. wagfrō maing edaze’na yi’sak tugaik eji
    wagfrō maing eda -ze’na Ø-yebī -zak t- ka -se Ø-eji
    good-Emph word hear-Purp 1-come-Perf Adv-say-Prtcpl 1- be
    ‘So I thought I was coming to hear good words…’ (R Personal Narrative 032)

The third purpose inflection, -do’pe ‘Purp’, is also a main clause future inflection (see Section 3.3.3). In its purpose function, it is dependent on a main clause that does not
involve motion, and it is used regardless of the coreference conditions between the main and purpose clauses (same-subject relations are illustrated in 56, completely different participants illustrated in 57). Just like main clause verbs, purpose verbs with -do'pe take absolutive prefixes (56b-c, 57a-b) or preverbal absolutive NPs (56a); transitive verbs take ergative enclitics (56a, c) or free ergative arguments (57b).

(56) a. pa'tiya rö pōmīuya mōrō bök rö go'mando'pe ji pa'tiya rö pōmī-uy-a mōrō pök rö Ø-kō'mamī-do'pe ji watermelon Emph plant -1-Erg that from Emph 1- live -Purp Emph ‘I plant watermelons so that I can live on that’ (RA Personal Narrative 201)

b. tūdōdo'pe ji mīgī yegonega'pī
t- tō-do'pe ji mīgī yegonega-'pī
3.Rfl-go-Purp Emph Hes 3-create -Past ‘He, prepared it (in order for himself,) to go’ (TL Makanaimo 036)

c. mōrō ji, chiya ji a'tu'mado'petuva,
mōrō ji chiya ji Ø-a'tu'ma-do'pe-t -ya
that Emph far.away Emph 3- push -Purp -3.Rfl-Erg

iwōdo'petuva ji mīgī mōrō abiyondō'pīya
i- wōnō-do'pe-t -wa ji mīgī mōrō abiyondō-'pī -i -ya
3-kill -Purp -3.Rfl-Erg Emph Hes that request -Past-3-Erg

‘He, had ask him this again to give him, the chance to push him over and Ø, to kill him.’ (TL Piyai’ma 061)

d. chiya tuna a'mu yau tūdōdo'pe
chiya tuna a'mu yau t- tō-do'pe
far.away water depths in 3.Rfl-go-Purp

mīgī mōrō chiya yenō'magō dāa
mīgī mōrō chiya y- enō'ma-gō ta -i -ya
Hes that far.away 10-throw -Imper say -3-Erg

‘He, said ‘Throw me far away!’ so that he, can flee down to the depths of the river.’ (TL Turtle Story 014)

(57) a. auzauro'to'pe eegampouya
a-saurogi-do'pe a-egampo-u-ya
2-talk -Purp 2-ask -1-Erg
‘I am asking you to talk...’ (LE Personal Narrative 001)
b. *ane  tok a  egamado'pe*
   ane  tok ya  Ø-egama-do'pe
   wait.Imp 3Pl Erg 3-tell  -Purp
   'Wait, and let them tell it (in order for them to tell it).' (RA Kone'o Story 041)

3.3.6.2 'While' Clauses

The two types of 'while' inflections in Akawaio are both formed with suffixes. Like for purpose clauses, one suffix, *-i'ma* 'While', requires that the subject of the main clause and the subject of the 'while' clause be coreferential, while the other suffix, *-dane* 'While' has no coreference restrictions. The verb with *-dane* bears the full set of absolutive prefixes, whereas the verb with *-i'ma* bears only the accusative half of the prefixes, taking the invariant a- 'Gen' prefix on consonant-initial verbs and no prefix on vowel-initial verbs (58).

(58) ene ‘see’  ene ‘see’
    1O  y-en-dane  y-ene-i'ma
    2O  ay-en-dane  ay-ene-i'ma
    3O  Ø-en-dane  Ø-ene-i'ma

    tō ‘go’  tō ‘go’
    1S  (u)-dō-dane  a-dō-i'ma
    2S  a-dō-dane  a-dō-i'ma
    3S  i-dō-dane  a-dō-i'ma

Clauses with *-i'ma* 'While' often translate best as present participles in English, which reflect the strict same-subject coreference requirements they have with their main clauses. The temporal relation between the *-i'ma* 'While' clause and the main clause is that the -i'ma clause represents a more durative state during which the more punctual event represented by the main clause occurs (59-60). In one case (61), the relation is less temporal and more logical, with the *i'ma* clause expressing a situation that would lead the listener to expect a different sentiment than that expressed in the main clause. Although
the texts provide a relatively small sample of the possible contexts where -i'ma might be used, it is notable that 16 of the 21 text instances of -i'ma occur inflecting the copula.

(59) a. hee! hee! hee! tai'ma ji a'nunii'ma ji yebi kariaugi, hee hee hee ta -i'ma ji a'numi'i'ma ji yebi kariaugi groan groan say-While Emph groan -While Emph come brown.deer ‘While making the groaning sound hee! hee! hee! the deer came along’ (EW Kanaimo 169)

b. mörau genik ej'i'ma, tok a eembiri mörö, tok enauya bra rö mörau genik ej'-i'ma tok ya a-embiri mörö tok ene-au-ya bra rö there specifically be-While 3P1 Erg 2-watch A.1.? 3P1 see-2 -Erg Neg Emph ‘While there, they would be watching you, you would not even see them’ (EW Kanaimo 104)

c. e'tane i'tai'ma bra ganang ji mörö bök azennagazak a'tai e'tane O-i'tu -i'ma bra kanang ji mörö bök a-sennaga-zak a'tai but 3-know-While Neg again Emph that about 2-play -Perf if ‘But again, not knowing, if you play around with that …’ (EW Kanaimo 120)

d. mörau kwö rö ej'i'ma meneik mörau ri'kwö rö ej'-i'ma mif- ene-ik there Dim Emph be-While 2A-see-Med.Imp ‘You must view it while being right over there.’ (PS Duck Story 072)

(60) a. mörö pung bo ej'i'ma dígüdígüuma'piya, tígüu tígüu tígüu mörö pung po ej-i'ma i-tígüdígüuma'-pì -i -ya tígüu tígüu tígüu that mound on be-While 3-shake -Past-3-Erg shake shake shake ‘while being on the mound (at the bottom of the cave) he tugged the rope, tígüu! tígüu! tígüu!’ (TL Birdman Story 031)

b. tewa tígüdígüuma'piya t- ce wa tígüdígüuma'-pì -i -ya 3.Rfl-rope shake -Past-3-Erg ‘He tugged his rope (that was tied around himself)’ (TL Birdman Story 032)

c. nong bo ej'i'ma mörau rö ej'i'ma nong po ej-i'ma mörau rö ej-i'ma earth on be-While there Emph be-While ‘while being on the ground, while being there (still in the hole)’ (TL Birdman Story 033)
(61) wagī genīk so'chi dau eji'ta, e'nek au rō tiwe'킹maik
wagī genīk jo'chi tau eji-i'ma e'nek yau rō t- e' kiŋma-ze
good specifically church within be-While sick in Emph Adv-Detr-hurt -Prtcpl

tugo'mangzanggong genīk amōrō'нogong
t- go'mamī-zang -gong genīk amōrō-'нogong
Adv-live -Pl.Nzr-Pl specifically 2Sg -Pl
‘Although you are in a good church, all of you seem to live while hurting each other.’
(R Personal Narrative 022)
lit. ‘While being in a good church, all of you are ones who live hurting each other, in sickness.’

The -dane ‘While’ inflection can occur with any type of main clause verb, and with any combination of coreference conditions. Just like Full Set II main clause inflections, the verb in the -dane ‘while’ clause either is preceded by the absolutive NP or bears the absolutive prefix (62a-c), and in most cases, either the ergative NP occurs or the verb bears the ergative enclitic (63). Auxiliaries can also bear -dane, both the copular auxiliary for the progressive (64a) and the verb of speech that lets the sound symbolic word act as a predicate (64b). The semantic relation between the main clause and the while clause are mostly that the while clause represents some more durative state or process during which a more punctual event, represented by the main clause, occurs (62-64). In one case in the texts, this relation is reversed, with the main clause representing the durative event and the while clause the punctual event (65).

(62) a. aigobe rī'kwō e'ane urō gūbīnī ji ma'ta'pī mōrō
aigo-be rī'kwō 0-eji-dane urō kūbīnī ji ma'ta'pī mōrō
small-Attr Dim 1-be-while 1Sg father Emph die -Past A.1.?
‘While I was still small my father died.’ (LE Personal Narrative 021)

b. Fernaz a ene'pī nīgadai ne tok ko, idōdane
Fernaz ya 0-ene'pī n- ka-dai ne tok ko i-tō -dane
Fernaz Erg 3-see-Past 3S-say-Past particularly 3PI Emph 3-go-while
‘Fernaz saw one while he was going.’ (EW Kanaimō 166)
(63) dioimabodiiya tamboro moro wiktong amok yarekadaneiya
i-toima-bodi-i-ya tamboro moro wik -dong amok yareka-dane -i -ya
3-rotate-Iter -3-Erg all that mountain-Pl Pl finish -while-3-Erg
tutok i'tuiya bra ji morau
 t-todok i'tu -i -ya bra ji morau
3.Rfl-go-Nzr know-3-Erg Neg Emph there

'He took him round and round all the mountains, but he did not know where he was going then.' (RA Eagle Story 032)

(64) a. mora'tai ivabok enodane endagang a'tai, mia'tanikto'pe
mora'tai iwa -bok eji-mm -dane endaga-mm a'tai i- ma'tanigi-to'pe
at.that.time search-Prog be-1+2S-while pass -1+2 when 3-destroy -Fut
'Then while we are searching for her, when she passes us, we will destroy her!' (RA Piya'ama Story 035)

b. uuup! tadaneyak eheh... yesando ta'tobe ji
uuup ta -dane -i -ya -k eheh y-esando ta'to -be ji
slurp say -while-3-Erg-Style clear.throat 3-cough pungent-Attr Emph
'As he slurped, “uuup!” “eheh!” (Coughing sound) he coughed, as it was pungent' (RA Piya'ama Story 075)

(65) a'chigö ta'piya ji morö bioringgadaneuya a'chigö
Ø-a'chi-gö ta -'pi' -i -ya ji morö i-boringga-dane -u-ya Ø-a'chi-gö
3- hold-Imper say-Past-3-Erg Emph A.I.? 3-turn.over-while-1-Erg 3- hold-Imper
"'Hold it!' he said, "While I turn the cow over, hold it!"." (RA Kone'o Story 074)

In several cases with -dane 'While', the relation between the while clause and the main clause is not temporal, but logical, translating better as something like 'although', or 'even though'. In this usage, the while clause represents something that must be overcome in order for the main clause to be true, or that would lead you to expect a different result than the one represented in the main clause (66a-b). It must be this
meaning of the ‘while’ inflection, combined with the copula eji, that is the source of the conjunction e'tane ‘but, however’ (67a-c).

(66) a. ka'pong berō ye'tane migi
ka'pong pe -rō y-eji-dane migi
person like-Emph 3-be-while Hes

\[\text{turonño be maimu esh'pī bogeng ji}\]
turonño pe i-maimu eji-'pī bogeng ji
another like 3-language be-Past like.manner Emph

‘While (although) he was an Akawaio, his language seemed different.’
(LE Personal Narrative 028)

b. mōrat'ai ji turonño ji urō maimu e'tane Areguna,
mōrat'ai ji turonño ji urō maimu eji-dane Areguna
at.that.time Emph another Emph 1Sg language be-while Arekuna

\[\text{kamaragodo be umaimu e'tane Agawaio au ji zemo'ka'pī mōrō}\]
kamaragodo pe u-maimu eji-dane Akawaio yau ji Ø-semo'ka-'pī mōrō
Kamarakoto like 1-language be-while Akawaio in Emph 1-grow.up-Past A.I.?

‘So, while (although) my language is different, while (although) my language is Arekuna, Kamarakoto, I have grown up in Akawaio.’
(RA Personal Narrative 067)

(67) a. e'tane sungwa rī'kwōrō tok mang, veneswela bo tok eshi,
e'tane sungwa rī'kwō-rō tok mang veneswela po tok eji
however far.away Dim -Emph 3Pl.3.Be.Pres Venezuela Loc 3Pl be

‘However, they are far away at this time, they are in Venezuela.’
(AE Personal Narrative 048)

b. sendai rō na'kō e'tane dio'kanigisau'ya braiji
si- ene-dai rō na'kō e'tane i- to'kanigi -zak -u-ya bra eji
1A-see-Past Emph maybe but 3-understand-Perf-1-Erg Neg be

‘Maybe I saw him but I probably never recognised him’
(LE Personal Narrative 023)

c. eenzai'aya rō e'tane, agoi'mabōdīya
a-ene-zak -i-ya rō e'tane a-ko'i'ma -bōdī-i -ya
2-see-Perf-3-Erg Emph although 2-cause.fever-Hab-3-Erg

‘Although he has seen you (and you did not see him), it will still make you get fever’ (EW Kanaimō 088)
In the Full Set II Paradigms, the ergative enclitic always follows the tense-aspect inflection. This is also generally true of the subordinate constructions and nominalizations that allow ergative arguments. However, in the possibly more archaic language of the Praising Rhymes, there is one example of -dane following the simple verb with its ergative enclitic (68).

(68)  
\textit{aaburōiyadane}  
a-aburō -i -ya -dane  
2-praise-3-Erg-while  
‘While she is praising you, …’ (K Male Praising Rhymes 006)

### 3.3.6.3 Participle Clauses

The participle in Akawaio is different from the cognate construction in other Cariban languages. As described in Gildea (1998, ch. 8), the \textit{*t-V-ce} participle across the Cariban family is like a passive participle, with completive semantics, always serving to modify the absolutive argument of the verb in the participial inflection. In Akawaio, the participle construction translates into an English present participle, depending on the main clause for tense-aspect and maintaining continuity of the main clause subject. The Akawaio participle presents two allomorphs, \textit{-se} following a root that ends in a consonant, and \textit{-ik} following a root that ends in a vowel (the huge majority of cases). The \textit{t-} prefix is given the separate gloss ‘Adv’ because it also occurs with other suffixes to derive adverbs from nouns.

The basic use of the participle is illustrated in 69-71. When both the main verb and the subordinate verb are transitive, the A and O of the participle are generally coreferential with the A and O, respectively, of the main clause (69a-e). When both the main verb and the participle are intransitive, both S arguments are coreferential (70a-b).
When the main clause is intransitive and the participle is transitive, the main clause S is coreferential with the participle A (71). Note that there is a different main clause tense in all 8 examples, and in each case the temporal value of the participle follows that of the main clause: future (69a), habitual (69b), perfect (69c), deontic mood (69e), present (70a), past habitual (70b), and conditional (71).

(69) a. mūgī rō taibidani'se rō tok a iwōnō
   mūgī rō t- aibīda-nūgī -ze rō tok ya i- wōnō
   this Emph Adv-wither-Caus-Prtepl Emph 3Pl Erg 3-kill
   ‘They will kill it (by) withering it’ (EW Tareng 087)

b. auye'sak a'tai tagi'pō'sek murang bona inonggaauya,
   a-yebi -zak a'tai t- agi-di-bōdi-ze -k murang pona i-nongga-au-ya
   2-come-Perf when Adv-cut -Iter -Prtepl-Style charm onto 3-leave -2 -Erg
   ‘When you have returned from the hunt, you have to cut the game into pieces then
   place it on the charm.’ (EW Kanaimō 044)
   lit. ‘when you have returned, having cut (the meat) into pieces, you leave it, on the
   charm’

c. a'sogo'pō ge te'kiyari'tōiık, jagorobazai'ya
   a'sogo'pō ke t- e'kiyari'tō-ik i-sagoroba -zak -i -ya
   leavings Instr Adv-feed -Prtepl 3-make.angry-Perf-3-Erg
   ‘She made him angry by feeding him with the leavings of sifted cassava flour’
   (PS Duck Story 063)

d. sungwa rō amunggōgong e'tane
   sungwa rō a-munggō -gong eji-dane
   far.away Emph 2-children-Pl.Psr be-while
   tok tengse bra, tok igonegaga'tōk
   tok t- ene-ze bra tok i-konega-gabī -dōk
   3Pl Adv-see-Prtepl Neg 3Pl3-make -Cmpltv-Pl.Imp

   ‘While your children are far away, you need to visit them and you need to prepare
   them.’ (RA Personal Narrative 239)
   ‘lit. ‘While your children are far away, not seeing them, you need to prepare
   them.’
(70) a. tiwe'kingmaik tugo'mangzanggong genik amörö'negong
t- e'- kibga-ik t- go'mami-zang -gong genik amörö'-negong
Adv-Detr-hurt -Prtcpl Adv- live -Pl.Nzr-PI mirative 2Sg -PI
‘All of you seem to be ones who live hurting each other.’ (R Personal Narrative 022)

b. chi'nak pök, chi'nak pök tuzewa'tōik tok egainumbōdi'pī
chi'nak pök chi'nak pök t- z- ewa'tō-ik tok egainumī-bōdi'-pī
genitive 1Sg bush.rope on bush.rope on Adv-Detr-tie.up -Prtcpl 3Pl climb -Hab -Past
‘While being tied up with a wild bush rope, they used to climb.’
(TL Birdman Story 022-023)

(71) tennaik eki yek ka'krangbe e'nō ya'tai
 t- enna -ik egi yek ka'krang-be eji-nō a'tai
Adv-request-Prtcpl cassava plant stranger -Attr be-Inf when

eki yek enna, diek sak diek
egi yek enna i-ek sa'ne i-ek
cassava plant request 3-plant Emph 3-plant
‘When being a stranger requesting cassava plants, (one) requests cassava plants,
especially the plants (sticks), the plants (sticks).’ (RA Personal Narrative 173)

In some cases, both the temporal reference and the identity of the ‘subject’ of the participle do not match the consistent examples above. Two speakers, both speaking passionately about a counterfactual situation, used participles for something like hedges on the content reported in the main clause (72a-c). The coreference conditions are standard in 72a, with the S of eji ‘I am’ coreferential with the S of tugaiik ‘saying’, but the meaning is not the expected ‘I am (while) saying’ but rather a more subjective ‘I thought.’ In 72b the subject of the mail verb yejibōk ‘it is repeatedly’ must be pleonastic, which means it cannot be coreferential with the S of tugaiik ‘saying’, and in 72c it is clearly not the S of any iteration of gio'mami be ‘she would live’ that is the S of tegamaik ‘thinking’, but rather it is the speaker or some indefinite other who is thinking everything that is in the rest of the sentence.
(72) a. möröbanggong ji winö wagırö maing
   mörö-be -ang-gong ji winö wagî-rö maing
   that -Attr-Nzr-Pl.Abs Emph from good-Emph word
   edaze'na yi'sak tugaik eji
   eda-ze'na Ô-yebi'-zak t- ka-iK Ø-eji
   hear-Purp 1-come-Perf Adv-say-Prtclpl 1- be

   ‘So I thought I was coming to hear good words from people like that’
   (R Personal Narrative 032)

b. ye'nonggaza' mang tugaik yejibök
   y-e' nongga-zak mang t- ka-iK y-eji-bödï
   3-Detr-leave -Perf 3.be.Pres Adv-say-Prtclpl 3-be-Iter
   ‘It was said that she had left.’ (R Personal Narrative 048)

c. nyarö rï'kwô rö gio'ma be yenumabô'rö gio'mamî be
   nyarö rï'kwô rö i-go'mamî be y-enuba-bôk -rö i-go'mamî be
   further.on Dim Emph 3-live Attr 1-teach-Prog-Emph 3-live Attr
   gio'mamî be tegamaik
   i- go'mamî be t- egama-ik
   3-live Attr Adv-think -Prtclpl

   ‘I thought she would have lived onwards, living while teaching me or so I
   thought/it is thought.’ (CB Personal Narrative 011)

   lit. ‘She would have lived onwards, she would have kept teaching me, she would
   have lived thinking.’

   In addition to the general usage of the participle, there are two particular verb
   roots whose participle inflections show signs of lexicalizing into specific, unpredictable
   meanings: tugaik ‘saying’ and ti'tuik ‘knowing’. Out of all the cases of the participle
   recorded in the texts in Appendix B, 47 were cases of tugaik, 17 of ti'tuik, and all the
   cases with other verbs put together made only 11. Out of context, the first translation that
   a native speaker might offer for tugaik would be something like ‘like, in what way’, but
   in the texts it can be found acting like a quotative marker (73a-b), apparently reinforcing
   the idea of ‘how’ for a complement clause (73c), and combining (in a very lexicalized
   way) with the question word ô'rô ‘what’ to form a way of saying ‘how?’ (73d-e, similar
to the more common ö'rō gaza ‘how?’ or nai gaza ‘how’, 73c). All 11 cases of ti'tuik ‘knowing’ in the texts were immediately followed by bra ‘Neg’. In only one case (74a) did the combination give the expected meaning of ‘not knowing’, in all other cases meaning either ‘unselected’ (74b), ‘numerous’ (74c) or ‘of various kinds’ (74d).

(73) a. urō sak eji LE tugaik tok ya
    urō sa'ne eji LE tā ka -ik tok ya
    1Sg Emph be LE Adv-say-Prtcpl 3Pl Erg

    yese'tō'pī mang go
    y- ezech -tō -'pī mang ko
    1O-name-provide-Past 3.be.Pres Emph

    ‘I am the one they called LE’ (LE Personal Narrative 003)
    lit. ‘I am (saying) LE, they named me.’

b. nai abai aye’sak tugaik asaurogi i’che aik,
    nai abai a- yebi -zak t- ka -ik a-saurogi i- 'che Ø-eji -aik
    where from 2-come-Perf Adv-say-Prtcpl 2-talk 3-Desid 1S-be-Pres
    ‘I would like you to talk about where you came from’
    (PS Personal Narrative 002)
    lit. ‘I want you to talk, saying from where you have come.’

c. nai gaza ji gio’manígiiya tugaik anengbai eji
    nai kaza ji i-ko’manígii -ya tugaik an- ene-bai Ø-eji
    what like Emph 3-keep 3-Erg like 3O.Desid-see-Desid 1- be
    ‘I would like to see how he is living with her’ (RA Personal Narrative 211)
    lit. ‘I want to see saying “how is he keeping her.”’

d. ö'rō tugaik rō namo ji ka’pong bōk tok zenaga
    ö'rō t- ka -ik rō namo ji ka’pong pōk tok senaga
    what Adv-say-Prtcpl Emph Uncertainty Emph person WRT 3Pl play
    ‘I don't know how they like they play with a person.’ (EW Kanaimó 097)
    lit. ‘They play with a person (but I don’t know) saying what.’

e. ö'rō dugaik kuru kajiri tūgoneagaseng A.?
    ö'rō tugaik kuru kajiri t- konega-zeng A.
    what like Emph cassava.beer Adv-make -Abs.Nzd A.
    ‘How do you really make kasiri (local alcoholic beverage), A?’
    (AE Personal Narrative 007)
    lit. ‘Saying “what” is cassava beer made?’
(74) a. manjik mörö gaza rö sa'ne migli rö ti'tuik pra rö migli eji
manjik mörö kaza rö sa'ne migli rö t- i'tu -ik bra rö migli eji
girl that like Emph Emph this Emph Adv-know-Prtcp Pl Neg Emph this be
ege bök tauya a'tai
ege pök ta -au-ya a'tai
big about say-2 -Erg if

‘you call it manjik like that or not knowingly, if you are saying this about the 'big one' (EW Tareng 068)
lit. ‘(you call it) manjik, really like that, not knowing, if you are saying this about the big one.’

b. ti'tuik prarö za'ne yuzmaning be eeji a'tai
t- i'tu -ik bra -rö za'ne Ø-yuzma-ning pe a-eji a'tai
Adv-know-Prtcp Pl Neg-Emph exactly 3-use -A.Nzr like 2-be if
‘or if you are like one who uses unselected ones (i.e. any old charm)’
(WE Kanaimö 007)
lit. ‘or if you are one who uses it exactly not knowing.’

c. ti'tuik prarö murang eji mörö
t- i'tu -ik bra -rö murang eji mörö
Adv-know-Prtcp Pl Neg-Emph charm be A.I.?
‘There are numerous types of charms.’ (WE Kanaimö 054)
lit. ‘The charms are not knowing.’

d. ekepe rö a'naik e'kwa ning ti'tuik pra rö
ege-be rö a'naik e'kwa ning t- i'tu -ik bra rö
big -Attr Emph corn field Emph Adv-know-Prtcp Pl Neg Emph
‘There were a huge amount of fields with corn and many other crops.’
lit. ‘There were lots of corn fields, really not knowing.’ (PS Duck Story 060)
Chapter 4. Genre and Classification in Akawaio

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to briefly explain the main aspects of Akawaio spiritual cosmology as embodied in the body metaphor, which gives meaning and symbolic power to speaking. In addition, there is a description of the rules and ideas about general verbal behaviour in Akawaio culture, to establish their organisation and classification into categories, of speech events, or genres. An important part of this exercise is to test whether these events are also presented and performed as units consistent with the Akawaio cosmology, which argues that all aspects of Akawaio life must be evaluated as unified entities just like the cosmic universe and the human body. The ultimate goal of this chapter is to show that there is an Akawaio philosophy of language, one that has never been recognised because it has never been clearly defined and articulated by the Akawaio themselves.

A necessary task that follows is to define genre in non-Akawaio terms and to establish its usefulness in this study. This extends itself into outlining the main substance of traditional Western parameters of classification of vocabulary, paving the way for developing an Akawaio model for speech classification. This is to establish where the four Akawaio speech genres under study, the tareng ‘ritual healing chant’, mire aburōbōdi ‘praising rhymes for children’, zegareme’nō ‘personal narratives’, and pandong ‘story’ are identified within these parameters. In particular, this study is interested to explore how Akawaios classify narratives and other genres according to their performances and to understand why particular speech events recur. Finally, the discussion ends by a full description and analysis of each of these genres.
4.1.1 Speaking in Akawaio

Speaking is highly valued in Akawaio culture and it is a primary source of personal prestige. This is particularly so because this prestige begins within spirituality, which is more extensively discussed in Section 2.4. To reiterate briefly, spirituality is based on defining who is a ka'pong ‘person’, and each person’s relation to the cosmic spiritual universe. The definition of ka'pong ‘person’ is conceived of by the Akawaio in terms of the mind-body-soul unity, where physical human beings exist also as cosmic beings in relation to the sky-earth opposition, experiencing different realms of reality. This is the first important reason why the Akawaios call themselves ka'ponggon‘the people’ or ‘people from the sky’, defining themselves as human beings par excellence. This is the prestige that each speaker holds dear to their heart. Within this context, speaking is an extension of a person. So when someone gets up to say something, what is said must come out from this powerful spiritual being that represents the cosmos; what each person says must be powerful and prestigious.

On the other hand, speech is also said to be pre-existing to be acquired upon birth, when the human baby breathes the air of communication. In the Akawaio worldview, the ka'pong ‘person’ is analogous to the vertical pillar that bears the divisions of the cosmic world. Like this pillar, it is proposed that a person’s body is divided into three separate cosmic divisions: the head and chest, the abdomen, and the lower extremities. It is in the head, in the brain of the child, that the force for activating speech is stored. The head is also the location for the embodiment of intelligence, reason and the accumulation of experience. This part of the body reflects and is equal to the celestial or upper world in the division of the cosmos (believed to be the homelands of the Akawaio ancestors).
Maing ‘speech’ then is categorised among those attributes of a person that control his sanity and intelligence. However, it is not only an attribute, but an entity unto itself, because it was acquired by special means after birth. It is manifested in different ways, but as a concept it has a special meaning, which cannot be applied to its particular form, maimu, to mean the same thing (more on maimu later).

Since maing ‘speech’ is seen in this way in Akawaio spiritual thought, the performance of speech is seen as a very important act for the Akawaio. The status of speech is essentially highly spiritual, and speech is an entity unto itself. This is also why Akawaioes believe that a person should not talk too much unnecessarily and must not say anything bad about someone even in a joking fashion; words have real power. For instance, young menstruating women are forbidden to talk, laugh or cry aloud when in pubertal isolation. If they speak, any elderly woman or man who passes by and hears them can literally die from shock. By the same token, a person can be made ill simply from a curse or direct insults and mockery. Talking bad is only for enemies and persons who have threatened one’s personal pride and integrity. Evil spirits are also driven away from areas by making swearing speeches towards the directions where they are believed to be, while pointing with a fire stick. Curing chants and other direct speeches uttered into the air or towards the direction of high winds and rains can serve to calm natural elements that might threaten people’s lives.

This way of thinking about speaking in Akawaio culture is reminiscent of the Chamulas of Mexico, who explain their speech in spiritual terms (Gossen 1974:389). For the Chamula, heat possesses great religious significance because its primary referent is the sun deity htoik’ k’ak’al ‘our father sun’. He is the one who created and maintains
temporal, spatial and social categories of the Chamula cosmos. Controlled heat symbolises order in both a diachronic and synchronic sense, and language represents one of several symbolic domains which the Chamulas think and talk about in terms of the heat metaphor. Generally, all other aspects of Chamula culture are measured or evaluated in units which are all ultimately from ‘Our Father Sun’ the giver of order. Because of this, Chamula verbal styles and performances are seen as patterns which extend in homologous fashion into the whole fabric of their social life and expressive behaviour and so they behave as a unitary normative code.

In another way, the Akawaio view speaking in terms similar to those of the Ilongot tribe in the Philippines (Rosaldo 1982.210). For the Ilongot, words are not just merely made up to represent objective truth, because all truth is relative to the relationships and experiences of those who claim to know it. This means that meaning is not developed from what individuals intend to say, but it comes from the relationship of individuals, from within the society as a whole rather than from just the intentions of one person.

This is very unlike how western societies view speaking, where the general argument is that the sincerity conditions of a speech act must prevail in individual speaker’s beliefs in the truth of their assertions, certainty of their promises, necessity of their commands (Bonvillain 2000.94). This is a prominent element in the study of western theoreticians on speech acts, and is evident in the works of John Austin, who proposed a typology that classify speech acts in terms of their purpose and effect (Austin 1962.94-101). John Searle (1976.10-13) went to great lengths to define and classify speech acts types, and Lakoff and Johnson (1980.64) argued that speech acts are designed
to result in an action by the hearer, and therefore they should be based on the respect for the rights of others, general sincerity, facility and conditions -- in other words, speech acts should be reasonable.

While this is all clear, and represents rational scientific thought, this is not what is important to every society. In societies like those of the Ilongots, Akawaio, and many other Amerindian societies, rules governing ways of speaking do not give first importance to such abstract definitions, classifications and considerations of truth and sincerity. Rather, in the case of the Ilongots, first importance follows from the very life that is led, and for the Akawaio, from the spiritual philosophy of life and speech. In both traditions, speech acts are considered based on the social bonds and interactive meanings that keep the society together as a collective group. Because of this way of thinking, both cultures assert that verbal actions should be divided into those categories of speech which correspond to social situations where norms of 'sameness' and autonomy prevail and those belonging to relationships defined by continuity and hierarchy in the sense of Rosaldo (1982: 222 cited in Bonvillain 2000: 95).

Rosaldo classified Ilongot speech acts into two groups: declaratives and directives. The first is the platform for making assertions and comments through which Ilongot speakers express their beliefs, opinions and feelings, while directives are commands and requests that hearers comply with. In Rosaldo’s view, directive speech acts are important for the Ilongots because, within their society, they command the cooperative bonds between the people, because it is the pillar of their social systems.

In another sense, the rules governing speaking privileges in any context in Akawaio society consist of strict rules. Only elderly men and woman have the right to
speak first, during any function, as they are said to know all aspects of Akawaio tradition and to have experienced life fully. Akawaio elders are good story-tellers and can tell several stories at one sitting; they are qualified to give advice, settle family and other grievances, cure illnesses and are natural experienced leaders. Some of them are medicine men with ethnobotanical knowledge while others have established their reputation as tareng ‘healing chant’ experts. However, while this is understood, clearly the right to speak, especially in public, is the domain of men in Akawaio society. This is also true for the Ilongot culture because beliefs about people’s rights and obligations to speak are based on gender and age inequalities. Of course, this tends to affect the usage of directives in that men command women and elders command their juniors (Rosaldo 1982).

An Akawaio man is better accepted to talk about himself because of his status, first as a person, as head of a house hold, as a family man and as an accomplished ideal Akawaio man who has a wife or wives, children, several planted farmlands, houses, boats, and fishing and hunting implements. In addition, he should be a good hunter and an accomplished warrior and an expert in all aspects of Akawaio craftsmanship. Measured by all these qualities the Akawaio man is said to have the right and authority to speak as a ‘real’ person and a ‘real’ man. During the speech performance, he is said to be representing not just himself, but his entire family and whatever he owns, because he represents them as an extension of himself.

Spiritually, one can see parallels between the Akawaio conception of the person as an image of the unified cosmos (Chapter 2) and the presentation of a person at all levels as a unified entity in all the social settings of Akawaio culture. It is customary to
see an Akawaio man stand up in a village meeting or some other formal settings to make a point, but before he makes any contributions or suggestions, he first introduces himself and his family. He takes care to mention his status within his family, what he owns, and what he is engaged in to improve the lot of his family. This is important because he is seen as re-enforcing his established status of being an ideal Akawaio man and identifies himself as a meaningful contributor to his society, a team player who takes his place as the ‘real person’ he should be. This is what gives him the right to talk in any public forum.

As became evident during the investigator’s visit to the field, it was very easy to collect data on personal narratives from men and harder to have women talk on behalf of themselves or their families. Thus, no matter what kind of data were being collected (stories, songs or procedural narratives), the men give this information after talking first about themselves. However, while there is great latitude for speaking by the men, they always take care that they do not say anything that will jeopardize the credibility of themselves, their families and communities, as this could undermine the authority with which they speak.

This emphasis on males being given the right to speak in Akawaio society is attributed to the strict social roles of men and women. Males are the initiators for making society possible, as the ones who protect what is considered important to the survival of the tribe and the family, as the socialisers of future males within Akawaio society, and the ones identified to hunt and fish, prepare cassava fields and to be leaders and warriors. For this reason, if a man is seen as stepping out of the bounds of this role, he is ridiculed
and embarrassed by his peers and the society at large. For instance, if an Akawaio man is caught cooking or processing cassava, he is mocked and made fun of even today.

Women, on the other hand, are seen as cultural bearers and procreators and in this way they are responsible for population growth, making society possible. In addition, they plant and tend the cassava (manioc) farms, process the cassava roots to feed their families and bartering or selling the excess with other interested Amerindian and non-Amerindian customers. In this way, they continuously stabilise their economies.

Women speak to their children and among themselves, and also with other women outside of those they interact with on a regular basis. One of the reasons they do not speak much otherwise is because they might attract unnecessary attention upon themselves. Until recently, Akawaio women lived under the shadows of their men folk and were thought to be invisible; they are socialised to be shy and not bold, since boldness attracts unwanted attention from other males. So they are always expected to be shy and quiet and never boisterous (Fox 2000:26). Most of the hard work falls on the Akawaio women: apart from all the regular chores, such as processing cassava, feeding the family, splitting or gathering firewood, tending to the wants of their husbands and children and time spent socialising the children, they are also expected to keep the fires burning during the night in order to provide light, keep the huts warm and keep the mosquitoes and other bugs away. Burdened in this way, there is very little leisure time for Akawaio women to simply talk or idle their time away. One European writer, Everard Im Thurn (1883), observed this practice in the 1800s, when he said that even after working so hard during the day, the women were not left alone to sleep in peace during the nights because they had to keep the fires burning while the men, having slept during the day,
told stories to one another in loud tones accompanied by loud laughter. Although it is quite okay for the men folk, only wild, idle, lawless and promiscuous women would engage in such raucous and highly forbidden behaviour. However, this is changing today, as the women themselves seem to be more interested in education and are becoming leaders within their communities, breaking their silence to speak.

4.1.2. Akawaio Definitions of Speech

Akawaios speak in many ways, and so they define speech itself in different ways. A subset of these are dealt with in this discussion in order to establish a point of reference for this study. An Akawaio definition of speaking could be traced through the many ways speaking is defined. This begins with *zauro'ndok* ‘the act of speaking’, where words are uttered, whether loudly or quietly (see Figure 4.1. for a classification of various types of speaking); through *zenumingga* ‘thinking’, either silently or aloud, and through *ereng* ‘song.’

The song category covers a wide range, including *timaimugenang erengdong* ‘songs with words and melody’, *imaimubing erengdong* ‘songs with melody but no words’, which are performed *en masse* by participants in a sacred ceremony or a social gathering, *a’kwa eremui* ‘sacred songs’ with or without words, *piyai’chang eremui* ‘sacred songs only learned and sung by shamans and spiritual leaders’, and *areruyah maimu eremui* ‘allelujah spiritual songs’ (see Figure 4.1). Also classified within this category is *warewadang* ‘ritual chanting’, which has two subtypes. The first is either high pitch or low pitch, described as singing from the head. It could be compared to a falsetto and is similar to the chants performed by North American Native drummers and
rhythmic speech that has melody and timbre. The second is the type used in the tareng ‘ritual healing chants’ of the Akawaio, which is performed between taking deep breaths and blowing directly onto the sick person, the patient’s food, or anything that a sick person owns. Timbre is important in the performance of tareng and could only be described here as emanating from a voice type such as a bass, with deep resonance or a kind of a rich strong contralto voice. This is why it is called warewadang, a concept associated with the wild loud howling of the baboon or the howler monkey, both very familiar to the Akawaios at Waramadong.

Anthony Seeger, in his study on the Suya of Brazil, commented that there was no way to describe timbre in western music and ethnomusicology, but pointed out that it was a very important part of Suya singing. They referred to singers as having either ‘good throats’ when a song was rendered loudly and well and ‘big throats’ when they sang with a full rich sound at a relatively low pitch (Seeger 1986:67). This is familiar to the Akawaios, who would describe a singer or a chanter with a loud, rich voice as ege diezeng ‘big throat’ or ‘one with a big throat’ and wagi diezeng ‘one with good throat’. One important point to be made about tareng, however, is that it is performed only in the presence of the performer and a sick patient and is often performed very quietly. The only time it is performed loudly is during the coaching and teaching of a tareng apprentice (explained in greater detail in Sec. 4.3), to ensure the correct use of timbre in the silent performance of the tareng.

Finally, there is wójidang ‘high pitch wailing or shouting’ particularly associated with tebogoimasang ‘death mourners’, oi’mane ‘evil spirit of the dead’, and sobai ‘evil person’. This type is performed with words or without words. It is called öri ‘evil’
because it is associated with the *sobai*, voodoo-like people who are known to portray general symptoms of madness, such as running wildly while weeping, screaming and wailing in an unkempt state with their eyes glazed, red and bulging out of their sockets. These *sobai* make people sick, and then the term *sobai* is also used to describe one who suffers from the effects of rituals performed to cure a victim of the *sobai*. The speech in the screams, shouts and the high-pitched wailing is rife with eerie, incoherent talk and shouting.

It is also called öri ‘evil’ because it is associated with the death monster *oi’mane*, who is found shouting, weeping and wailing on top of the grave of the victim of the killer *kanaimō*. He imitates the wails and shouts of the victim’s relatives, including all the words used in the wailing. In a normal situation, a grieving person performs *wojidang* ‘high-pitched wailing or shouting’ through the production of high-pitched cries with intermittent speaking that recounts the sadness that a death has brought to the family. If the dead relative is a man, then the wailer recounts his entire life, why his presence will be missed, and regrets about the uncertainty of the future of his children, grandchildren, his farmlands and his boat and so on. A wife would wail about the sadness and loneliness she is left to face without the protection and care of her husband. The words of *wojidang* ‘high pitch wailing or shouting’ resemble a kind of a social commentary in song, which is performed to express extreme, soulful sadness.

In an earlier period, *wojidang* was a part of death restriction rituals observed by the families of a dead relative. During the restrictions, which lasted up to a year, the relatives of the dead were not allowed to socialise normally with other members of society. They were not allowed to eat in communal-oriented festivals and other such
occasions, and could only eat meals prepared by their immediate relatives, who were observing the same restrictions. A family observing such a restriction was also not allowed to cook or offer food to anyone because they were considered unclean. If this happened, the person who was offered the food could suffer from severe abdominal pains and diarrhoea. In another instance, if a person known to be suffering from an illness were to eat food cooked by the relatives of the dead undergoing restrictions, that person’s illness would get worse, probably leading to death.

In general, the Akawaios believe everything in the environment speaks, so that natural elements, rocks, animals, plants, birds and fishes have their own language. This is why there is so much emphasis on unity and interdependency between humans, plants and animals, resulting in harmonious living. This is why some plants, animals, birds, fishes, rocks and stones are thought to contribute their attributes to cure illnesses through the tareng ‘ritual healing chant’. The chants invoke the message a particular exemplar is contributing to cure an illness. For example, wind talk is a style whereby someone can talk to the elements or a specific plant in order to ask for help, grant a request or ask for permission to walk safely through the area where it is. In this way, many other non-human things are perceived as anthropomorphic beings capable of speaking.

Reviewing what has been said before, it is easy to see why speaking and the ground rules associated with it are so important to the Akawaios. Speaking is not just an attribute of a person, but an extension of his spiritual self, resulting in a philosophy or body of knowledge, if you will, that governs speaking. With this in mind, the discussion hereafter embodies the various approaches that are explored to explain how Akawao ways of speaking are organised, categorised and classified.
4.1.3 Genre and its Usefulness in Categorising Speech in Akawaio


Hymes asserted that ‘genres’ are categories of speech, such as poems, myths, tales, proverbs, riddles, curses, prayers, orations, lectures, forms, and letters. The analysis of these speech forms as speech acts resulted in classifying them into distinct genres. It follows then, that the notion of genre implies that speech has formal characteristics which must be identified because they are linked to particular genres (Hymes 1974:61). This implies that ‘speech acts’ define speaking as a form of social action while ‘genre’ directs attention to routinised, conventionalised organisation of formal structures of language beyond the sentence (Hymes 1972b.48). In a general sense, Hymes is also saying that a speech event is different from a speech genre. Bauman and Sherzer (1974.141) argued that this is not an analytical distinction, because local conceptions for the organisation of domains of speaking could be defined both in terms of categorical systems of speech acts and genres. Swales gives a more precise definition of genre, as follows:

‘A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These
purposes are recognised by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of event and style. Communicative purpose is both a privileged criterion and one that operates to keep the scope of a genre as here conceived narrowly focused on comparable rhetorical action. In addition to purpose, exemplars of a genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience. If all high probability expectations are realised, the exemplar will be viewed as prototypical by the parent discourse community. The genre names inherited and produced by discourse communities and imported by others constitutes valuable ethnographic communication, but typically need further validation (Swales 1990:58, cited in Ruedas 2002: 457).

This definition unifies concepts from folklore, literary studies, linguistics and rhetoric, explicitly revealing the three important elements that are required for a recurring form of communication which can define a genre. Ruedas (2002:457) pinpoints these elements: (1) a communicative purpose; (2) a pattern of similarity in structure, style, content and intended audience; and (3) a genre name inherited and produced by the discourse community. These elements represent an explicit way of defining genre, and depart from Hymes in a very different way. For instance, Hymes’ reasoning defines a church service as an event and a sermon as genre, and in this way he separates them into different domains and views them as two separate things. Swales thinks of speech event and genre as both being communicative events, in that members within the category of speech events tend to share some set of communicative purposes, and to be seen as genres by the parent communities.

Whatever rationale led to the creation of the genres also defines the structure of the discourse, and influences and constrains choice of event and style. Because each exemplar exhibits various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and
intended audience, it is often seen as being prototypical by the parent discourse community. Consequently, the genre is given a name, is established inside the community, and may also be known by others outside the community. For all the reasons Swales has presented, it is no longer appropriate to utilize Hymes’ early scientific parameters for the definition of a genre. Thus while ‘genre’ in a general Hymesian sense is useful as the primary tool for organising and placing the Akawaio speech forms into perspective, it is limited because of Hymes’ strict division between genre and speech event, especially without giving consideration to the origins of such events within local speech classifications.

Ruedas (2002) expresses this position well: ‘Genre is a type of event and therefore it is not just the words that are spoken, but also the arrangement of participants and their physical environment.’ Ruedas pinpoints that his position is closer to Saville-Troike (1982), who argued that genre is a type of communicative event and that the distinction made by Hymes between event type and genre is misleading. This is because for Saville-Troike ‘any genre can become an event type if one shifts the axis of comparison’ (Saville-Troike in Ruedas 2002:458). Deducting from Saville-Troike’s and Swales’ argument, Ruedas points out that the notions of speech event type and genre are equivalent or the same. Because while it is true that a speech event, such as Hymes’ church service or healing ritual, can consist of various sub genres having formal features such as hymn, prayer and sermon, the whole event is an example of a dialogic and multivocal discourse genre. In addition, the distinct structures of hymn, prayer and sermon are constituents of a broader discourse structure that encompasses them all (Ruedas 2002: 458).
In another sense ‘genre’ in this study also points out the inadequacy of earlier definitions for ‘genre’. This is the component that led to the failure of genre becoming an overriding concept in the study of local classification of speech. Briggs and Bauman (1992:139) perceive of the inadequacy being based on the question of what portion of the speech economy, within a speech community, is generically organised and which areas escape regimentation. These questions were never addressed in the early attempts to define ‘genre’. Gary Gossen and Brian Stross recognise this in their studies on the speech genres of the Chamula people of Highland Chiapas (Gossen 1972, 1974). They point out that the speech genres of the Chamula are locally constituted and systematically interrelated. This is in clear contrast to the scholarly tradition, which relied on the a priori, universalistic, Western-based analytical genres, atomistically defined and ethically applied (Ben Amos 1976 [1969] in Briggs and Bauman 1992:138). Thus, Gossen concluded that while some Chamula genres could be equated with Western genres, they are different in the way they are categorised and organized (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 139).

In discriminating the Chamula system of generic categories, Gossen applied the structural-semantic techniques of ethnosciencne to encourage the exploration of Chamula lexicalised category systems. This was to discover the comprehensive taxonomic organisation of the Chamula domain of Sk’op ‘people speech’ from everyday speech to the most highly formalised and densely meaningful genres (Briggs and Bauman 1992: 139). Gossen observed that speaking was a cultural focus in Chamula culture, and because of this the cultural organisation of the generic taxonomy is complex. It is also all
encompassing and interrelated at all levels, regardless of if they are formal/informal, functional, situational, social organisation, ethical and cosmological (ibid).

This observation resonated in later discussions and studies on 'genre' in the ethnography of speaking and posed two important questions: (1) To what extent are generic structures reducible in cultures? and (2) can they be combined in many other ways? Greg Urban's (1984) study on the semiotic of two speech styles in Shokleng was based on answering such questions. The two Shokleng speech styles exemplified the generic styles: origin-myth narration and ritual wailing. Extending the principle of co-occurrence, he revealed that Shokleng speech styles were inherently indexical, because their use co-occurred with some entity or subject matter (Urban 1984:313). Urban exemplified this by offering a close semiotic analysis of origin-myth narration and ritual wailing that pinpointed the interrelationship that linked the two genres together to other ways of speaking. This allowed Urban to explore the broad communicative range of Shokleng generic speech styles (Briggs & Bauman 1992:141).

Presently, the merger of genres and speech events, and the transference from their primary situational contexts of use to other speech events, predominates. This is evident in the work of Joel Sherzer, who traced the various contexts in which the i'karkana curing texts feature in San Blas Kuna culture within a range of events. Thus, its functions at different times are identified within a wide range of events. While its primary use is for magical curing, disease prevention, improving abilities and general control of the spiritual world, it also serves as the basis for ikar rehearsals by the specialists, the learning and teaching of the ikar, to the chanting of the ikar for entertainment on festive
occasions. Each of these performances is marked by formal and functional differences (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 313).

Similarly, Allessandro Duranti explored the formally and functionally contrastive uses of the Samoan genre of oratory, *lauga*, in ceremonial events and in a type of political meeting, *fono*. The studies of both Sherzer and Duranti established that the generic specification and boundaries of *ikar* and *lauga* cannot be determined by text alone, but resides in the interaction between the organisation of the discourse and the organisation of the event in which it is performed. These two studies also raised another important point: for Duranti the most salient difference between *lauga* in *fono* and *lauga* in other ceremonial events was ‘performance’. Therefore he argued that *lauga* was the socially recognised domain of performance *par excellence* (Duranti 1984:235). This was because it displayed verbal virtuosity while the *lauga* in *fono* was delivered in a different way, in a more instrumentally oriented mode. Sherzer arrived at a parallel conclusion in his study of the Kuna, because, during festive occasions, *ikar* is defined as virtuosic performance, in practicing as rehearsal, and in teaching as demonstrative. This clearly shows the variability of relations between genres to performance and other frames. (Briggs & Bauman 1992:144).

The three studies by Urban, Sherzer, and Duranti reflected a useful turn in redefining the limited use of genre. Thus, instead of restricting the concept of genre to mutually exclusive generic categories, their studies extended its use to conclude that, at least in the Shokleng, Kuna and Samoan societies, generic categories can overlap and interpenetrate in many ways in all aspects of verbal production. It follows that aspects of verbal production in some non-western societies are resistant to orderly categorisation.
Given this realization within the discipline of ethnography of speaking, modern ethnographers are very cautious when they investigate locally constructed classification systems.

To conclude, this study utilises the notion of *genre* as influenced by the works of John Swales, Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman, Javier Ruedas, Joel Sherzer and Greg Urban, Muriel Saville-Troike and Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer. The concept of genre, though not a part of the Akawaio vocabulary, resonates in this study in the following ways: first, as suggested by John Swales, *genre* has specific elements to rationalize its existence. Second, in the sense of Saville-Troike, Javier Ruedas and Swales, *genre* and *speech events* are perceived as one and the same. Third, in the tradition of Charles Briggs, Richard Bauman, Joel Sherzer, Greg Urban, Gary Gossen and Allessandro Duranti, *genre* is perceived as exceeding its classical definitions in three important ways: (i) genres and speech events, when analysed, sometimes transfer from their primary situational contexts of use to other speech events; (ii) genre should be studied by establishing its specifications and boundaries, not by text alone, but in the interaction between the organisation of discourse and the organisation of speech events; and finally (iii) genre should be a concept that investigates generic categories to pinpoint how they overlap and interpenetrate in multiple ways of verbal production in non-western societies.

This is in recognition of aspects of verbal production in such societies that are resistant to orderly categorization. More importantly the use of genre in this study goes beyond being just the tool for classification and organisation of speech. This chapter analyses: (a) the interaction between how speaking in Akawaio is organised and how the
event within which it is performed is organized. This is explored by paying attention the ways and degrees in which the Akawaio speech forms are grounded, examining what they might be detached from within the Akawaio cultural context. (b) How is the Akawaio performance of the speech genre socially defined and how is this important to defining it as a speech genre? And (c) what are the points of merger between the Akawaio speech genres and Akawaio speech events, and their transference from one primary situational context of use to other speech events, and to the broader domains of speaking in Akawaio?

This new focus on genre with its extended use embodies an alternative view set forth by Briggs and Bauman and it places speech genres in the ethnographic study of locally constructed classification systems rather than in a priori analytic categories. This is the underlying reason for scrutinizing the formal characteristics of Akawaio concept *maing* ‘speech’ (see discussion in Sec. 4.1.2) as the foundations of narrative discourse in Akawaio. In the first place, this reflects an attempt to assess the semiotic functions that influence the development of formal models of Akawaio speech and classification systems. The goal is to uncover the broader social/spiritual contexts and the semantic meanings that precedes these systems. The use of genre adopted here is crucial for identifying a point of reference within which the social and spiritual purposes of Akawaio speech acts and events must begin. This study deviates from studies which perceive of the broader social world and what is referred to as a non-linguistic world, because it does not only perceive of both the social and the non-linguistic world, but articulates Akawaio speech genres within Akawaio spirituality, within the non-linguistic world itself. The attempt in this study is to focus on four Akawaio speech genres which embody the
spiritual and cultural continuity of the Akawaios and represent how these genres are in fact models of spiritual and cultural continuity. Therefore, it seeks to uncover the continuity inherent in the semantic meanings of the genre texts themselves, to observe how these meanings reflect the broader views of cultural and spiritual continuity in Akawaio society.

Akawaio categories of speech and their use have never been studied before. Consequently, there is no existing literature anywhere on this topic upon which the present work could be based. The analysis of Akawaio ways of speaking that is being presented here is new information, and the main objective is the attempt to discuss Akawaio speech genres within a structured model of speech classifications. This is only available presently because it emerges from the investigator's own knowledge about the subject and comes out of her own experiences as a native Akawaio and speaker. Since Akawaio is not a written language, it has no literary tradition in which one might seek out a record of all aspects of their way of life, much less a record of how they categorise their ways of speaking. For both these reasons this study cannot pretend to be conclusive, but represents work in progress. This study prepares the way for any future study on the subject and partially fills the continuing gap that exists in Amerindian studies and within the ethnography of speaking and sociolinguistics in the study of Amerindian 'ways of speaking', particularly in the Guianas.

4.1.4 Classifying Akawaio Ways of Speaking

Conceptualisation of a structured classification for the Akawaio speech genres is influenced by the works of many proponents of taxonomic systems in vocabulary: Berlin
and Kay (1969), Sherzer and Urban (1986), Kay (1965), Bloomfield (1946), Bonvillain (1989, 1990, 2000), Fillmore (1982), Kaa (1976), Labov (1973), Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Sapir (1912), Whorf (1956), Bauman and Sherzer (1974) and Atran (1999). These scholars have focused on how cultural speech classifications could be investigated cross-culturally. The answer to this question was in the approach which most studies on speech classification in vocabularies have taken. First, there were the questions raised about the possibility of universality of linguistic and cognitive processes (Berlin & Kay 1969, Bloomfield 1964, Bonvillain 2000, Hallowell 1960, Hoijer 1951, Kay & Daniel 1978, Labov 1973, Lakoff 1972, Lakoff & Johnson 1980, MacLaury 1989, Mathiot 1962, Sapir 1949, Whorf 1956). In addition, the goal of these studies has been to describe how cultural values and symbols were encoded in words and expressions used by speakers to transmit emotional, attitudinal, and symbolic meanings (Bonvillain 2000.53). This leads to the main point of departure being the study of categories and taxonomies in vocabulary which focus on the analysis of ‘semantic domains’ or basic categories. Bonvillain defines semantic domains as “an aggregate of words, all sharing a core meaning, related to a specific topic, such as kinship terms, body part words and colours.” In addition, semantic domains were united by similarities and contrast. Consequently, words within a domain are said to share certain features of meaning because they refer to the same type of object, person or event; but then, each word is unique in the sense that each one tends to contrast with all others in the set and labels a distinctive entity. These basic features and characteristics of semantic domains, when analysed, lead to the discovery of the semantic principles of similarity and contrast within a given domain. These in turn give way to
predictions and inferences about how speakers within a particular culture experience their world. (Bonvillain 2000:53).

Another useful concept enshrined in the systems for classifying vocabularies are ‘focal meaning’ and ‘prototypes’, which have become relevant to ethno-linguistic studies. “The focal meaning of a word is its central sense within the whole range of meanings that it has.” Thus, a word’s focal meaning is the best example, or the most typical example of the possible meanings that it encompasses (Bonvillain 2000:62). For example, in colour terminology each word covers a graded range of different hues along a continuum. Therefore it does not have a discrete and absolute quality, but each word has some central meaning, a ‘best example’ (Berlin and Kay 1969).

Prototypes in another sense are useful for deciding on other categories of the basic speech domains and subcategories. Thus, a prototype is an idealized, internalised conceptualisation of an object, quality or activity. Real life objects and activities are measured against these internalised concepts and are named according to how well they approximate the ideal (Bonvillain 2000:62).

Charles Fillmore (1982.32) argues that “a prototype approach to semantics seeks to represent the meaning of a linguistic expression, not through a statement of the necessary and sufficient conditions for membership in a category... but rather through the analysis of instances (or near instances) of the category in terms of approximations to the prototype.”

While the discussion above reflected earlier theoretical approaches to classifying speech, it is already clear that there cannot be and single way to classify objects in the world, since classification schemes differ from culture to culture. While universality may
not be a lost cause altogether, for the sake of Western science there is need to be careful when considering judgements about universal principles of classification, especially as this relates to Amazonian Amerindians. For instance, this study observes that nowhere in the existing studies (Berlin & Kay 1969, Kay 1975, Hoijer 1951, Bonvillain 2000, Sherzer and Urban 1986) is there any attempt to study classification systems within Amerindian societies based on their spiritualities. This is an important component of Amerindian cultures both in North and South America, and it pervades all aspects of life. With the absence of such a citation, it is often hard to agree that there is universality in ways for classifying the world across cultures.

In spite of this, there are a few studies that seem to allude to the spiritual ways in which some indigenous communities in South America classify their world, although this is often not clearly articulated. Thus, the work of Kensinger (Kensinger and Reina 1991) in his work on the Wai-Wais talked about colours and their classifications in Wai-Wai spirituality. Thus, the colour ‘black’ was said to come from the west, the black homelands of their spiritual ancestors, and this is why it was important to them. The ‘black west’ was also the place where the sun sets, giving way to darkness. Wai-Wais, like the Akawaios, perceive of a spiritual cosmos that is divided into layers (refer to Sec. 2.4). This division resulted during the primordial time due to a number of catastrophic events. This is why the ancestors now live in the darkened west. For the Wai-Wais, there were certain birds that were spiritual because they were blessed by the Sun Father as the medium for colours. Such birds are the macaw, parrots, the toucan and the cock-of-the-rock (only found in Guyana). This is why feathers of these birds are fundamental components of Wai-Wai cosmology (Kensinger and Reina 1991, Fox 1995).
For example, the colour red is explained in Wai-Wai myths and legends as originating from spiritual birds who were painted by such agents as blood, fluids from the internal organs, and fire a long time ago. Such myths also explain the creation of present day colours in the feathers of birds. For example, the Wai Wai myth about petari ‘anaconda’ shows that after it was cut in half, the river banks swam with blood. The bird people bathed in the blood, hoping that they would be transformed into real birds. However, after they took the bath, there was a down pour of rain so kworo-yeuna (red and green macaw people) built a house to shelter. It did not hold all the bird people so some lost their red colours. The woodpecker people hurriedly placed some leaves over their heads, consequently these birds now have red heads. This is one example of why groups like the Wai-Wais (including the Akawaios, Bororos, Caribs, Patamunas, Warraus, and Wapishanas) believe that significant colours such as black and red were brought to them by spiritual entities. Thus, some Amerindian groups arguably depart from the spiritual way in which they view the origins of colours when they classify colours, rather than attending only to hue, lightness and saturation.

In his study on three Suya (Brazil) genres ngere ‘song’, kaperni ‘speech’ and iaren ‘telling’, Seeger (1986) discovered that the classification ngere ‘song’ had archaic words, song syllables and phonetic alterations that were hard to understand. They were also symbolically dense with opaque meanings. These songs the Suya said were very old and that only the beings who taught these songs to the Suya originally knew what they meant. Some of this beings included spiritual jaguars, extinct enemies who live under the earth, and spiritual bees and birds. In his three dimensional classification of the Suya ways of speech, Seeger described the ngere ‘song’ category as having priority of melody
over text, and as having text and melody entirely fixed by non-human source. This is proof that the Suya perceive of a spirituality that influences the explanations of the characteristics of their songs with their origins (Seeger 1986:64-68). This is why Seeger encountered an objection from the Suya about categorising *sangere* ‘curing chant’ as simply song. *Sangere* cannot be a song for the Suya, considering that they are not performed aloud, their texts are hardly heard at all, and they were not learned from animals, even though attributes of animals and plants are central elements of *sangere*. These differences therefore led to classifying it as a separate speech form from the *ngere* ‘song.’

Among Native Americans in California songs originate in the spiritual world, and so they perceive of two types of songs: songs with words and songs without words (Hinton 1994:145-151). Many of these are bird songs which are sung by different tribes and have meanings in one language but not in another. The songs that have no words and no meaning are said to exemplify spiritual language which humans no longer know, hence they belong to this genre (ibid). Among the Atsugewis, songs are seen as coming from spirits, so if a spirit liked a person, it sang to him and then the song is sung under appropriate circumstances (Hinton 1994:147). In addition, the names and words of Atsugewi shamanic songs were understood only by the guardian spirits to whom they were addressed (Hinton 1994:148). The important thing about these examples is the idea of an existing spiritual world which (though not clearly articulated) influences how the songs are learnt and classified. For instance, all songs, regardless of whether they have words or not, were considered songs because it is really the song itself that holds meaning, not just the words. This is why songs without words (Atsugewi, Havasupai
Wintu, Akawaio) can also be full of meaning, as they were handed down from spiritual ancestors.

In another sense, Western academics have been the only ones to study Amerindian and other systems of classification, and they do this from a purely scientific theoretical standpoint. This is the point at which indigenous explanations for aspects of their culture should merge with scientific theory, in order to compare locally constructed categories with western scientific systems. Thereafter, there should be a joint portrayal of these systems as complementing each other (to the extent that they do). In this sense, this kind of approach would at least seem more productive and useful, and could lead to an all-embracing theory of classification systems, which might then truly support the idea of a universal theory of classifications.

This study attempts to utilise such an approach and departs from the tradition of reviewing the Akawaio speech classifications only within traditional scientific theory and as existing in an abstract form. Therefore, the analysis of Akawaio ways of speaking begins in the spiritual realm of the Akawaios (described in detail in Chapter 2). Thereafter it culminates in comparing and contrasting these Akawaio speech classification systems with western scientific theories. The approach to begin to explain Akawaio ways of speaking within spirituality may not be deemed as a method of scientific inquiry. However, within its own socio-cultural category, spirituality is the underpinning of the Akawaio worldview, which pervades all aspects of life. Thus, spirituality precedes the development of Akawaio ways of speaking. It follows that this study does not ignore scientific approaches altogether, but focuses first on what is important in the Akawaio worldview is first, and then, within this context, paying
attention to how Akawaioes define their own speech. The scientific approaches thereafter can offer direction to further analysis of locally constructed classification systems, but only if and whenever this is relevant. It is within this spirit that the classification of Akawaio speech genres in this study is discussed hereafter.

### 4.2. Classification of Akawaio Speech Genres

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>maimu ‘language’</th>
<th>maing ‘speech’</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zauro’núdok ‘talk’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>egama</td>
<td>‘tell’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ebanamang</td>
<td>‘advise/counsel’</td>
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<tr>
<td>auro’ka</td>
<td>‘give advice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e’chiranggang</td>
<td>‘talk foreign language’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pa’nik</td>
<td>‘curse’</td>
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<tr>
<td>esabemangdok</td>
<td>‘mock’</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ñó maimu ‘serious speech’</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>paba maimu (idegare)</td>
<td>‘God’s words’</td>
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<tr>
<td>a’kwa maimu</td>
<td>‘language of brightness’</td>
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<td>tareng</td>
<td>‘ritual blowing’</td>
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<td>mire aburóbödí</td>
<td>‘praising rhymes’</td>
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<td>warewadang</td>
<td>‘tuguk’</td>
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<td>tadok maing</td>
<td>‘ritual chanting/singing’</td>
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<td><strong>miuding maimu</strong></td>
<td>‘ritual sayings’</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ébadagandok ‘narration’</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zegareme’nodok</td>
<td>‘meeting language’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeku’sak egamadok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go’ mangnö’ pi egamadok</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>igubi egamadok</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>egaremedí</td>
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<tr>
<td>pandong</td>
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| Hareruya maimu eremui | ‘Hallelujah spiritual songs’ |
| Tamboronggong eremui | ‘Congregation Songs’ |
|                       | ‘egorigang’ |
|                       | ‘tuguk’ |
|                       | ‘ebiremang’ |
|                       | ‘uruwak’ |
|                       | ‘sambura’ |

| Piyai’chang eremui | ‘Shaman Songs’ |
| imawari           | ‘Imawari spirit’ |
| emba’ka           | ‘invocation’ |
| ji’ninggang       | ‘love songs’ |
| pandong           | ‘story songs’ |

**Figure 4.1. Classification of Akawaio Speech Genres**

As illustrated in Figure 4.1, the basic category of Akawaio speech forms consists of two main concepts *maing* ‘speech’ and *maimu* ‘language’ which are both defined differently. Therefore, *maing* meaning ‘speech’ (generic) referring to everyday speech
forms performed by humans or any type of speech utterance; and (2) maimu meaning 'language' or 'my language' (particular form) which refers to a specific language spoken by a human group. There is a basic distinction to be made between two main uses of these terms. Thus, maing 'speech' is a more general term for speech and the other maimu 'language' is more restricted to referring to a specific type of speech performed by a specific group of people. Thus, in one sense maing is the main concept for defining speech as oppose to maimu which connotes the act of speaking during the performance of it. However, this is not always clear in its usage in the Akawaio language by many speakers. Hymes was aware of this vagueness when he said that speech has been used as a variation for language; but language as an act of speech does not mean for many writers a complex social act but a mere manifestation of speech (1974:445). To get away from such vagueness Sherzer and Darnell chose to call it 'speech use' while Hymes called it 'ways of speaking' because it was analogous with 'ways of life' and the Whorfian concept of 'fashions of speaking’. This was deliberate for Hymes because he wanted to make a point to the anthropologists that ways of mankind included their ways of speaking and to remind the linguists that speaking came in many ways because it showed cultural patterning. Despite this complexity, maing 'speech' and maimu 'language' are individually thought of as being different while they are also viewed as being akin to each other. But there is one difference: maing 'speech' can be used to refer to any category of language but maimu 'language' cannot be used to refer to maing 'speech'.

As an aggregate of words sharing a core meaning relating to speech, the words maing 'speech' and maimu 'language or my language' in Akawaio could be viewed as belonging to the same semantic domain. However, maing is the main lexemic name for
‘speech’ in Akawaio. This seems to be following the model set forth by Brent Berlin (1974.51) where this recognition is seen as an important clue for determining the lexemic status of an utterance. Because *maing* ‘speech’ has this lexemic status, it could be seen as corresponding to the scientific taxonomic rank of order. But then, there are two questions which serve to determine if this is really the case: do the Akawaios perceive of the various usages of *maing* ‘speech’ when speaking about it, whereby this variation is designated to single words within this *maing* ‘speech’ category for defining the whole range of characteristics of *maing* ‘speech’ at different times? Or do the Akawaios view words within the *maing* category as displaying those characteristics idiosyncratically? The answer to the first question is ‘yes’ and to the second, ‘no’. Yes, because the Akawaios perceive of *maing* ‘speech’ as having consistently multiple characteristics, such as in the co-variation and similarity in the morphological and behavioural traits of *maing* ‘speech’ and other subcategories of this word. This is why Figure 4.1 shows categories such as *maimu* ‘language’ with subcategories that describe how language is defined and classified: òzō *maimu* ‘serious language’ containing its own subtypes and internal classification; *arerujah maimu eremui* ‘hallelujah spiritual songs’, describing the types and classifications of songs in Akawaio repertoire; and *ebadagang* ‘narration’, which embodies the various ways of Akawaio speaking in narrative form.

Each one of these has a particular word to describe it, which leads to the idea that there are natural categories within *maing* ‘speech’ -- the subcategories of this word all share multiple characteristics and are therefore sublexical categories of maing ‘speech’. In addition, the only time different characteristics could be applied in combination is when reference is made to *maing* ‘speech’. This clearly shows that *maing* ‘speech’ as a
single word cannot be seen as constituting a set and this is why it cannot be analysed as being representative of a taxon or a null set (Kay 1971.868).

In the second instance, a second criterion of taxon, which represents a natural category in a taxonomic structure, is the strict inclusion of sets only restricted to members of T, that is to say that set t_i strictly includes another set t_j just only if every member of it is a member of t_i and there is at least one member of t_i which is not a member of t_j (ibid). In the Akawaio experience maing ‘speech’ could be representative of t_i and maimu ‘language’, which is akin to it, as t_j. All other defining terms for maimu ‘language’ could be seen as belonging to set t_i maing ‘speech’, which seems to be the superordinate category. However, the reverse is not possible in that maing ‘speech’ cannot be placed within the maimu ‘language’ category. This means that maing ‘speech’ is an entity unto itself and cannot be described interchangeably as maimu ‘language’ and its subcategories. Maimu ‘language’, because it has subcategories, seems to exhibit a formally definable set. This is clear in Figure 4.1, where maimu ‘language’ is used to express the different ways of speaking and is a productive part of the complex terms that cross-index and cross-reference the different speech types within different subcategories of maimu ‘language’.

Regardless, it seems as though the Akawaios perceive of maing ‘speech’ in two ways: (1) maing ‘speech’ is the main generic form which could be defined as a superordinate category in scientific taxonomy. By ‘generic’ it is meant that maing means speech in general without reference to any specific speech and therefore has a special meaning. (2) maimu ‘language’ is the particular form, which displays a definable taxon because it is the point of reference for its subcategories. However, Akawaios do not
always treat *maing* 'speech' and *maimu* 'language' as separate words, and in this way their meanings are not always clear-cut and they tend to use these words interchangeably to mean the same thing. Despite this, there is much cross-indexing, cross-categorization and cross-referencing among all these subcategories, in terms of the generic term *maing* 'speech' pinpointing that there is a hierarchical distinction between *maing* 'speech' and *maimu* 'language' in Akawaio speaking philosophy.

Because of this interplay and interdependency between *maing*, the generic name for speech, and *maimu*, the particular form, the entire domain of speech is presented as a collective category rather than as a taxon in the sense of western scientific theory. This is why Akawaio speakers seem to have a freedom of choice in using either the generic or particular forms in the sense of Dorothy Lee (1959:123). The Figure 4.1 reflects this view in that *maing*, the generic form, is illustrated as encircling the three particular forms of speech, which are in turn represented as encased in boxes, which exist side by side as separate collective categories within the broader superordinate category of *maing*. This way of categorising, organising and classifying speech and speaking seems to follow naturally from the Akawaio world view as represented in their lexicon. Central to this is the idea that the cosmic universe cannot be divided into individual items because it is a unified category, and all things within it are presented as collective categories but belonging to a larger superordinate category, the cosmic universe.

This conclusion for developing Figure 1.4 came together following an analysis of the components of each subcategory of *maimu* 'language' to determine if there were considerable contrasts in their definitions, characteristics and use. This was done by first comparing and contrasting their meanings, then their various uses and the contexts within
which they were used. This method of comparing and contrasting components of words, used to determine classifications such as the ones in Akawaio speech, is known as 'compositional analysis' (Goodenough 1956, 1965), a method used by linguists and anthropologists to pinpoint the isolable components of words that occur in different combinations within a domain. In this way it compares distinct components that are used within the domain, or any system of terms, to allow for the understanding of what Bonvillain calls the ethnomemetics, or the indigenous systems of meaning (Bonvillain 2000: 55).

One important consideration was the Akawaio spiritual tradition of how language is viewed, which also gave clues to its importance and origins (see Chapter 2). Thus, *maing* 'speech' according to Akawaio spiritual explanations comes from *mō awong* 'the one within over there' interpreted in a spiritual sense as meaning from around the cosmos. *Maing* 'speech' is therefore pre-existing, and is acquired by humans at birth when the human infant breathes, making first contact with the air, the medium of communication. The air is the wind that represents light, and its sustenance comes from the spiritual 'Sun Father'. It is developed into 'real' speech, *maing*, as the child grows within a relevant environment. One explanation for why speech exists out there is because it is believed that the wind transfers speech to everything in the environment. Hence everything speaks, but the only mediums that verbalise it audibly are humans.

Whether this rationale could be taken seriously as literally true is not the issue here; but as the point of departure for understanding ideas about language within the traditional Akawaio world view, it plays a central role in classifying their speech forms. *Maing* 'speech' must, therefore, be acknowledged as the main leading concept for
speaking in Akawaio society, since it is perceived as a sacred word in itself (as shown in Figure 4.1). *Maing* as a general concept also fulfils what is known as the ‘focal meaning’ of a word in linguistic anthropology. Because in a central sense, its focal meaning echoes throughout a whole range of other meanings that it has. In addition, what allows it to have a focal meaning is because *maing* ‘speech’ is the best example or the most typical example of all the possible meanings it has from a linguistic standpoint.

When accessed, the other word, *maimu* ‘language’ or ‘my language’, is closely akin to *maing* ‘speech’ -- in fact, a historical linguistic analysis of the two forms shows that both are modern reflexes of the same word. The possessed form carried a suffix marking its syntactic status as possessed, and when that suffix disappeared (described for all the Pemóng group in Gildea 2000), the full form of the root was preserved as *maimu* ‘language (possessed)’. The unpossessed form had no suffix to protect the end of the word from phonetic erosion, and so the final syllable lost its vowel and the resulting word-final nasal became velar (described for the Pemóng-Panare Macro-Group in Gildea 2000). Thus, the shortened form, *maing*, represents the more abstract concept because it was never specified as belonging to anybody or any situation, whereas the longer form, *maimu*, represents the more grounded and defined concept, language that could be possessed, either by an individual or by a situation.

However, it is not enough to look at the historical linguistic analysis if we are trying to do justice to the internal classification as the Akawaio see it. A better tool to get insight into the Akawaio point of view is the folk etymologies that they offer to explain the differences between the two words. In interviews with the elders, it was explained that *mai-* comes from *maing* ‘speech’ while ‘-*mu*’ means ‘son’ which is equal to *maimu*
‘language’, literally meaning ‘speech son’ or ‘the son of speech’. Thus, its meaning is ‘an identifiable language spoken by some one or a group of people’ in an Akawaio sense. Because it is referred to as the son of ‘speech’ maing, it is concluded that maing and maimu are often used interchangeably, although they are treated as separate concepts, one being generic and the other being a particular form in Akawaio speech classification.

As shown in Figure 4.1, there are four main Akawaio speech types that are subcategories of maimu ‘language’: (1) zauro’ñōdok ‘talk’ or ‘to be able to speak in the sense of a human being’; (2) õzō maing ‘serious talk’, referring to structured, formal speech performed in organized settings; (3) areruyah maing eremu ‘hallelujah spiritual songs’ or, more literally, ‘hallelujah speech songs’; and (4) ebadagangdok ‘narration’.

Zauro’ñōdok is the exemplification of speech which enables a language (see the title of this dissertation). The ability to talk is held in high regard in any human society. Among the Akawaio people, a child who cannot talk is known as maimu bing ‘one without language’ and not one without speech. In fact, there is no way anyone can say maing bing ‘without speech’, since this is grammatically wrong and will not make sense.

‘Talk’ in a general sense is very essential to the Akawaio since children are said to be humans only after they start to talk. In their earlier years, they are considered spirits and not humans. It is for this very reason that young siblings of a baby were not allowed to see or be near their newborn brother or sister for some time. In fact, this is also why there are so many traditions, rites and rituals which must be observed both by a pregnant mother and a new mother and father. This example clearly shows the power of ‘talk’ in Akawaio culture, and the various ways in which they appreciate its functions. This will also become clear in the upcoming discussions on the categories and subcategories of
Akawaio ways of speaking. It follows that ‘talk’ gains its status of importance simply because it exemplifies speech that has meaning, spiritually and physically, and because it is the basis for communication in the every day life of the Akawaio people.

Subcategories of zauro’nōdok ‘talk’ consist of seven types: (1) egama ‘to tell (generally)’ also to report an incident, to recite, to read a book, to foretell or predict an event. (2) ebanamang ‘to give special advice or give counselling to an individual’, perhaps to guide them when they are cheating, drinking too much or breaking the general rules of the society. It comes from the word pana ‘ear’ and literally it means ‘to give ears to someone’. (3) auro’ka ‘to give advice’ (in general) to anyone about any problems they might have tangible or abstract. It is a morphologically transitive form of the word zauro’nō ‘to talk’. (4) esabemangdok ‘to mock’, considered very bad speech. This type of talk can lead to fights and strained relationships. (5) pa’nik ‘curse’ the use of which is blamed for illnesses, death or bad luck in Akawaio communities; (6) e’jiranggang ‘speak a foreign language’, a skill well-known in Amerindians communities, where most people are known to speak several languages apart from their own. But this skill is not valued a lot next to the importance of being able to speak one’s own language. Therefore, much cannot be said about this subcategory, except to say that it exists. Notice that these subcategories of maimu ‘language’ are very different from the main generic term maing ‘speech’ described before, because they have different functional uses. Nevertheless they are all consistently assessed in terms of it as the superordinate category.

Özö maimu ‘serious talk’ refers to structured, formal speech forms which are performed in organised settings. These are of three main types: (1) miiding maimu ‘meeting language’, evident in village meetings, village election campaigns, wedding
carnonies, oral reports, and speeches given at other important functions by village elders and teachers; (2) *paba maimu* or *diegare* ‘Great Father’s speech’, ‘God’s words’ or ‘the Gospel’, referring to speech only performed in a church when preaching or speech used in hallelujah spiritual gatherings; and (3) *a’kwa maimu* ‘ritual language’, which means literally ‘bright speech’ or ‘utterance’ or ‘the language of brightness’. *A’kwa maimu* consists of three subtypes of ritual speech: (i) *tareng* ‘ritual blowing’, which literally means ‘words of fire’ or ‘fire words’ (a compound of *ta* ‘to say’ and *reng* ‘embers of fire’). Ritual blowing chants are used to cure all types of illnesses and can also be used to harm people. (ii) *warewadang* ‘ritual shouting’, ‘singing in a ceremony’, or ‘chanting aloud’, to place oneself into a spiritual mode; it can also refer to the loud, incoherent speeches of mad people. In some cases, some of these chants do not have words per se. (iii) *tadok maing* ‘to say speech’ also referred to as ‘the silent ritual wind speech’. This refers to sayings or phrases that are uttered to the wind for safety, in order to appease spirits during travel in the deep forest or some unknown environment. They are also sayings used for getting out of harm’s way, for example when walking through an area full of razor grass, one can repeat a saying or password, which would make it safe for the individual to walk through without getting cut. There are sayings that will stop the rain from falling heavily, others that make the rain fall, others for getting rid of evil spirits from around the surroundings of a home, others to encourage fish to bite to enable a good catch. From within the category of *özö maimu* ‘serious speech’, this study chooses one subtypes, *tareng* ‘ritual blowing chant’, to focus on and deal with comprehensively (see Section 4.3).
A category distinct from ḍzō maimu ‘serious language’ is ebadangdok ‘narration’, the act of speaking to narrate a story, a happening, a biography, history, one’s own life history or fiction. This is evident in the various Akawaio speech forms which are classified within this category, as they represent the different types of narratives: (1) pandong ‘story’; (2) zegareme’nōdok ‘personal narratives’; (3) ye’ku’sak egamadok ‘reported speech’; (4) go’mangnō’pi egamadok ‘historical narratives’; (5) igubi egamadok ‘procedural narratives’; (6) zauro’nō’pi egamadok ‘conversational narratives’ and (7) egaremedí ‘gossip’. Pandong ‘story’ and zegareme’nōdok ‘personal narratives’ are two of the Akawaio speech genres which are being analysed in this study, therefore they are described in great detail (sections 4.5 and 4.6, respectively). Ye’ku’sak egamadok ‘reported speech’ is the act of narrating an event or happening based on someone else’s account. There are various ways for doing this in Akawaio and will be discussed as a strategy in story telling (section 4.5). Go’mangnō’pi egamadok ‘historical narratives’ refers to stories told about the remote past, or simply historical accounts of the history of a place, its people and their origins. Igubi egamadok ‘procedural narratives’ represents speaking in the form of instructions, telling how to make handicrafts, process cassava and all its products, or to perform various rituals such as puberty rites, manhood rituals and funeral rites. Zauro’nō’pi egamadok ‘conversational narratives’ refers to stories told during a conversation between two or more people in an informal setting. This is also possible in a formal setting, as exemplified in a constructed conversation between an informant and a researcher. Finally, egaremedí ‘gossip’ is the act of speaking about others in a bad way, by indulging in idle talk or spreading rumours about them. It is also the act of repeating idle talk and rumours, especially about the private affairs of
others. In Akawaio culture, *egaremedī* ‘gossip’ is considered *ōri maing* ‘bad speech’, because it is used by jealous, malicious and envious people. Such people tend to talk about others in private rather than in a public forum.

*Areruyah maimu eremui* ‘Hallelujah spiritual songs’ (literally ‘Hallelujah language songs’) are mostly traditional Akawaio spiritual songs, which have been included in the repertoire of modern day hallelujah spiritual songs. Many of these songs are believed to be composed by the spiritual entities and spiritual guardians of the shamans. The shamans, who are the mediators between the real and the supernatural world, are taught these songs and they in turn introduce them to their society at appropriate times. This is why many of the spiritual songs are only sung by shamans and adults, and children are not allowed to learn them because their spirits could be led astray by the powerful spirits, the owners of the songs. The songs are also described as being too hot for the children because their very power can be fatal to them. This is because the songs are not of this world. Many of these types of songs are also learnt in visions by the shamans during their intense training. This is necessary because they must be able to lead in chants and songs in séance ceremonies, which is an integral part of this highly spiritual event.

Hallelujah, as the name suggests, refers to the only known syncretised religion practised by the Akawaios of the Upper Mazaruni District in the hinterlands of Guyana. It was developed in the early 17th century following the claim of a Makushi man named *Bichiwīng* that he was given the name of the religion ‘Hallelujah’ by God through a vision. This vision took place at the home of a white missionary in England. Hallelujah is structured along the principles of Catholicism and Protestantism, acknowledging a
supreme being. During the development of the religion, this notion of a supreme being became a new dimension to the traditional Akawaio spiritual belief system. Therefore, prayers are said in the name of *mama meri* (Mother Mary), *paba inggadi* (father God) and *uwi Jezek* (elder brother Jesus). While such an assimilation exists, Akawaio style ritual forms of worship like feasting, dancing, healing ceremonies, ritualistic baths, drinking and days of general spreeing and chanting remain at the core of the religion. Akawaio spiritual leaders such as the *piyai’ma* (shaman) and other spiritual leaders selected through visions and callings preside over all the hallelujah ceremonies. Although it was founded by a Makushi man, many Arekunas, Kamarakotos, Taurepang, Patamunas and Akawaio were converted to it. Over time, only the Akawaio remained as practitioners of Hallelujah (see also Butt Colson 1954, Henfrey 1964, Butt-Colson 1967, Fox & Danms 1993, Fox 1996).

Category three, the *areruya maimu eremui* are hallelujah Spiritual Ritual Songs which are subdivided into three types. These consist of: (1) *tamboronggong eremui* ‘congregation songs’ which include *egorgang* ‘ritual bath’ songs, *tuguik* ‘humming bird dance’ songs, *ebiremang* ‘prayer’ songs, *uruwaik* ‘funeral’ songs, and *sambura* ‘???’ songs. They are referred to as congregation songs because the congregation who makes up the Hallelujah church are all allowed to participate in performing these types of songs. They are ritual activities that allow participation *en masse*.

The second major category of *areruya maimu eremui* is (2) *piyai’chang eremui* ‘shaman songs’, such as *imawari* ‘spirit’ songs, *emba’ka* ‘invocation’ songs, *zebi’tong* ‘ceremonial healing’ songs, *enu’no eremu* ‘song of the ascending spirit’, and *a’kwari nu’tō* ‘descending spirit’ songs.
Finally, there are the *tôwôrô go'mannô eremu* ‘every day activity songs’ which are associated with everyday activities such as *trawazo eremu* ‘work songs’, associated with activities such as cassava (manioc) grating songs, planting, hauling a newly made canoe down to the river and paddling. It must be noted however, that at the present time these work songs are hardly ever used if at all.

Also, there are *mire we’numba eremu* ‘lullabies’ (literally ‘song for putting a child to sleep’). These are of two kinds: one is composed to frighten the child to sleep without crying and making a lot of fuss. These are mainly for toddlers who are already talking and understand the meaning of fright. Characters such as frogs, snakes, tiger, the giant mountain man or the giant grasshopper are called upon in the song to come and get the crying and bad-behaved child and take him/her away. The other category is for little babies, lullabies that are more reassuring, soothing and pleasant. Most of these ask the baby to go to sleep so that his/her mother can cook food and prepare the game his/her father is bringing home. It also reassures the baby about the love the family has for him/her. Another type of lullaby which is sung during the night refers to other babies in the animal kingdom, like baby tadpoles who never cry to go to sleep and baby birds who are never heard crying in the stillness of the night, so as to avoid the detection of the location of their nest by their prowling enemies. The idea here is to ask the baby to do the same.

Next comes *ji’ninggang eremu* ‘love songs’, the songs sung to woo lovers or songs sung by jilted lovers. Many of these songs tend to have a more contemporary melody, influenced by coastal Guyanese Creole folk rhythms, Christian spirituals and some aspects of Spanish and Brazilian rhythms. A prototypical traditional love song was
more wailing and dirge-like, and would be either sung slowly or played on the flute. The words of these songs were based on comparing love and beauty as reflecting nature and the environment and the relationship of man to these. Present-day love songs have words that are comparable to any mainstream lyrics that portray man/woman relationships as being based on general love, love-making, commitment, money and sustained loyalty to one another.

Next-to-last is pandong eremu ‘story songs’, which are of two types. One is a song that tells a story or songs that are sung to illustrate characters within stories.

Finally, mire aburōbōdī ‘praising rhymes for children’, is a way of rhythmic speaking to a child by his/her mother. It is performed on mainly young babies and toddlers. They consist of different types, depending on the gender of the child that is being praised, with distinct praising rhymes for male and female children. A full description of the praising rhymes for children is in section 4.4.

In relation to the foregoing discussion on how Akawaio speech genres are classified, the focus now narrows to the four speech genres that are selected for analysis in this study: (1) tareng ‘ritual healing chants’; (2) mire aburōbōdī ‘praising rhymes for children’; (3) pandong ‘story’ and (4) zegareme’nōdok ‘personal narratives. This is to give them a fuller treatment, to describe them as individual types of Akawaio speech categories, and to establish whether they each represent a genre and in this way how they are placed within the proposed Akawaio classifications of ways of speaking as exemplified in Figure 4.1. The above is achieved by comparing and contrasting the speech genres for several reasons: (1) to uncover patterns of the variation of the language among them; (2) to observe differences and similarities in the general features of each
genre; (3) to observe co-occurrences and redundancies in the performance of the genres and in their social status as speech acts and social events; (4) to show similarities in the points of references within which the speech acts are encoded and presented; (5) to assess the relationships and functions of these genres to Akawaio society as a whole; (6) to show the peculiarities of the language used within each genre; and (7) to show the social context within which each one is performed, and the interrelatedness that exists across the genres. The focus is now on describing each of the Akawaio speech forms.

4.3 Tareng ‘Ritual Healing Chant’

The first Akawaio speech genre, the tareng ‘ritual healing chant’, is represented in this study by the six chants used to cure kwazuuk ‘diarrhoea’; mingbôk dông ‘haemorrhage (as suffered by women)’; ögiriwa ‘toothache; inggebra ingduung ‘fast delivery’; ùyômaik ‘gingivitis’ and mareriya ‘malaria’ (see appendix B, p.532).

The Akawaio tareng ‘ritual healing chant’ is a speech act performed to cure an illness by a tareng ezak ‘owner of tareng’; it is not a public performance. It is comprised of short verses performed as units, which are characterised by petitions or requests to animals, plants, fishes and natural elements by the healer, who then assigns himself to be the medium through which these act to cure the patient. For this reason, when chanted by the healer, the tareng constantly alludes to identifications of the self during the performance, as the medium through which the request granted by some appropriate animal or plant for curing the illness is filtered unto the patient.

Usually the tareng calls upon an appropriate animal or plant, whose attributes are known to be the opposite of what the patient is suffering from. For instance, the cure for
diarrhoea names the sloth because its faeces are always known to be hard; the cure for toothache names the otter because he has good teeth. This shows that the Akawaio tareng is based on metaphor, where animals, birds, fishes and plants are used as entities for their qualities as concrete objects with extended and transferred meaning for curing illnesses, as argued by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5). Tareng in this case is a metaphoric strategy whereby animal attributes are directed unto a patient after assistance is sought from them through quiet chanting. The tareng chanter is the medium through which the various attributes of animals and objects are transferred and are invoked by the word power of the tareng ezak.

This is very similar to the Suya of Brazil as described in Anthony Seeger's work on sangere 'curing songs', where he argued that the naming of attributes of animals, plants and objects within these songs was a main characteristic. For this reason, a Suya child who is suffering from high fever and convulsions would have to be cured through a sangere which names the white caiman. This is because the Cayman is known to lie very still in the water without a tremor and never gets hot. The sangere for toothache would name the wild pig because, although it is an eater of hard roots, its teeth do not hurt. The one for 'easy birth' names a small fish because it is known to slip through the hands easily when one tries to hold it (Seeger 1986:70, 71).

Tareng is mostly performed only in the presence of the patient, very quietly, behind closed doors in a very quiet place. The sick person is not an active participant throughout the entire performance and could be asleep or moaning in great pain. The chanter turns his/her back on the patient, who would either be lying down in a hammock or, in the case of a baby, in the arms of the mother. Then he would bow his head and
begin to chants in very low tones and only fast rhythmic whispers could be heard by the patient. This is similar to the Suya of Brazil where the sangere ‘curing song’ is performed very quietly and is hard to hear (Seeger 1986: 70).

The only other time the patient will hear the tareng ezak is when he/she comes over and blows a strong gust of air onto the affected area before going back to sit and continue his chanting. The format is to chant a couple of verses, then blow on the patient at least three times after taking really deep breaths with eyes closed in a meditative fashion. It is effective when the tareng is performed either directly onto the patient or the patient’s food or belongings. Among the Suya of Brazil the healer blows onto the patient as they perform the curing songs very quickly and quietly (ibid). Seeger describes the sangere ‘curing song’ and its effect on patients as an injection, because the blowing injects a particular powerful essence of animalism, distilled through metaphor, under the skin of the patient and into his/her body. For the Akawaio the tareng ritual blowing is a powerful force for curing, because it is transferred through the breath, the air of communication and the very spiritual life force of a person.

Other people are prohibited from being in the area where the tareng is performed because their negative energies can be a real obstacle to the effect of the tareng as a cure. The other reason is because the secrecy of the tareng itself is protected from those who may want to steal it by learning it or questioning the owner about it. Many times the tareng ezaks are not interested in sharing their tareng with anyone.

The chanter, or tareng ezak ‘owner of tareng’, is always an old Akawaio male or female. This is important because only older people are good candidates for taking on the sacred responsibilities that come with being a tareng healer. One of these responsibilities
is to be someone who is calm rather than temperamental, one who can demonstrate control over his/her own behaviour. This is because when someone has dedicated him/herself to become a *tareng* healer, he has to learn both good *tareng* and bad *tareng*; healers must not be tempted to harm other people, just because they have a knowledge of both. The other reason is because a *tareng* healer must be able to recognise and counteract the bad/evil *tareng* when it is performed to harm a patient deliberately (i.e., in the form of a curse).

That older people are the healers also has to do with membership in the sacred society of healers, where certain kinds of *tareng* are not shared with anyone outside this society. Individuals often have to work hard and convince the senior *tareng* healers that they were ready to be members of the scared society. Usually the Akawaio *tareng* healers have inherited the knowledge from their fore parents, who were also known to be *tareng ezaks* ‘owners of *tareng*’. This is why it is very true that some families in Akawaio communities are owners and experts of particular types of *tareng* and therefore are specialised in specific types. This is an example of one of the ways the *tareng* is passed on from one generation to the next. Another way in which it is acquired is through having visions where spirits of plants, animals and the forest appear to teach the selected learner over time. Finally, Akawaio *tareng* is also acquired through *tareng* exchanges with other tribes, which explains why sometimes *tareng* have different lexical and grammatical structures.

A candidate may become a *tareng* apprentice sometime around the age of 30-40 years old. Akawaio children are not taught *tareng* as a rule but this is known to happen within some families. Seeger (1986.71) pointed out that in Suya culture children are
allowed to learn by listening to adult performances because they are known to move in close to performances in a way that adults rarely do or can. Suya children only begin to perform the *sangere* when they are adults with children of their own. In Akawaio culture listening in to *tareng* performances by children is strictly prohibited. However, learning of *tareng* is open to young adults, 20-30 years old, and when given permission, they must have the head for it. The Suya rationalisation for allowing children to learn the *sangere* ‘curing songs’ is that ‘youth is the time when the ear is ‘unclogged’ and learning is easy’ (ibid).

The word *tareng* means ‘words of fire’ in Akawaio, with the etymology of it lying in a compound of two Akawaio words: *ta* ‘say’ and *reng* ‘embers of fire’. This is its meaning both in a concrete sense as *tareng* are real words of fire, which is why they can cure, and in a figurative sense as a word having the characteristics of fire; that is why it can both cure and harm anyone. In this way, *tareng* is viewed as the general name for the healing chant itself and *tareng*, the cure.

*Tareng* are classified as having different types according to their identity as representing specific cures, which results in a difference in their names and the type of cure they are for. For example, the *tareng* for toothache is known as *ōgoriwa edaremui* ‘toothache tareng’; *tareng* for malaria as *mareriya edaremui* ‘malaria tareng’; *tareng* for sore eyes *enguuk edaremui* ‘sore eye tareng’ and the one for haemorrhage *mïngbök dông edaremui* and so on. Each one has its own type of *tareng* verses for chanting and there can be many different ways in which these verses are worded depending on who the performers are. This is based on which families they are from or which area they are from. This points to the fact that the *tareng* is used for curing many illnesses and many
other conditions, which cover a wide area, and it is used to re-enforce herbal medicines and other things administered to cure a condition.

Such conditions include illnesses caused by diseases, such as tuberculosis, dysentery, diarrhoea, high blood pressure, arthritis, toothaches, all types of eczemas and conditions such as migraines, difficult pregnancies and deliveries, madness, trauma, conditions caused by evil spirits, conditions caused by accidents, such as cuts, bruises, snake bites, bee bites, fractures, abscesses and infected wounds. It can be use to enhance the attributes of people, so there are tareng healing chants for laziness, where it helps people to become more industrious, to make babies walk and talk faster than usual, keep them safe from evil spirits and to keep growing health. Young boys and girls who want to be runners could have a tareng administered upon them to make them good athletes. There is the tareng to make the boys better hunters and the girls pretty, and tareng for children to become good musicians. In addition, tareng is also used to influence love conditions such as bringing separated couples back together; how to make someone fall in love or want another person; to ruin a marriage; to trap a man or woman into wanting someone, and to make someone mad in retaliation. Finally, tareng is also used to control the natural elements, such as the rain from falling too heavily, the high winds from becoming too destructive, the river from rising too high, and calming down the thunderstorms.

Just as how they are different types of tareng, there are different types of tareng ezaks 'owners of tareng' in Akawaio communities, though there is no formality in identifying the types. Therefore, how these types are presented represents the interpretation and classifications formulated by the investigator. There are at least three
types of *tareng ezaks* ‘owners of tareng’, assessed by recognising that there are two main types of *tareng*: *wagi tareng* ‘good tareng’ and *ōri tareng* ‘bad tareng’. The good *tareng* consists of *tareng* for illnesses caused by diseases, conditions caused by accidents, control of natural phenomena, cures for matters of the heart, putting love relationships into motion, enhancing physical and psychological attributes, controlling wild animals from attacking, and re-enforcing charms used to enhanced hunting and fishing skills. The bad *tareng* consists of *tareng* for making people sick, causing deterioration in lovers’ relationships, splitting couples apart, physically altering people’s physical appearances, such as making someone bald, altering people’s personality for the better or worse, and other causing conditions that make people sick, uncomfortable or unhappy.

The four types of *tareng ezaks* are: (1) The good *tareng ezak*; (2) the bad *tareng ezak*; (3) the student *tareng ezak*; and (4) the commercial *tareng ezak*. The good *tareng ezak* is one who uses *tareng* for curing people at all times and is dedicated to doing just that, despite the fact that they know both the good and the bad *tareng*. They hold a very high social status within Akawaio society and even today, they are allowed to assist in difficult medical situations. For Instance, if a patient is having difficulties in a delivery, a *tareng ezak* is allowed to administer *tareng* onto the patient by some Akawaio health workers. Each Akawaio community has their own quota of *tareng* healers and, as mentioned before, different families are specialised in curing specific illnesses. This is not very obvious to outsiders when they are in these communities because *tareng* healing is outlawed by the Seventh-Day-Adventist religion at Waramadong and so must be practised secretly. Also, it is not recognised by the official medical institution set up to administer health care in Akawaio and other Amerindian communities. In general, the
good *tareng ezak* is a respected elder within the 60-80 year-old age range, and could be either a male or female, who is on call at all times and does not operate from any specific building or any kind of centre. They set out to heal the sick when called upon, not with a medical bag of paraphernalia in hand, but with a memory filled with the centuries-old traditions of *tareng*.

The bad *tareng ezak* specialises in bad *tareng* and, like the owner of the good *tareng*, he/she also knows the good ones. The age of such a person is between 30-50 years old and is one who is ridiculed and not very accepted by the larger Akawaio community. Many times this type lives away from the village and is not trusted by anyone. His/her general disposition reflects a quiet person, who walks around with a bowed head, has blood-shot eyes and is generally irritable. In earlier times, he/she played a useful role in waging a silent war against enemies, as mandated by the leaders of the Akawaio tribe. In recent times, he/she fully is wickedly involved in hurting other people, a habit which comes out of either retaliation for some bad thing done against him/her, envious feelings for someone, to carry out a bad deed as requested by someone, or to simply just test the strength of their *tareng*. Some of the things he/she is known to do with the bad tareng include breaking up a relationship, making someone ill with a form of disease, making a woman barren or a man impotent, making a woman or man become flirtatious, causing someone’s teeth to fall out, crippling someone, or making someone insane. This list could extend to nearly any evil thing someone can do to others.

Usually, this character is easily identified, because he/she belongs to a particular family who also practises the use of bad tareng. When in public, he/she is always very quiet and has the habit of not looking anyone direct in the face during any form of
communication with him/her. Despite of the bad profile of the bad *tareng ezak*, he/she remains functional in Akawaio society, and is effectively used when the need arises for revenge. Like the good *tareng ezak*, they do not operate from any fixed place or centre, and must be contacted at home.

The student *tareng ezak* is a learner of *tareng* between the ages of 20 and 30 years old. He/she is doing this following a family tradition, or he/she has been inspired by a vision to do so, or does it as part of training exercises for tribal wars or leadership. He/she is constantly under the tutor of the *tareng* teacher.

The commercial *tareng ezak* is a new category, and refers to one that is willing to use his/her *tareng* skills in return for financial gain. While he/she does not operate from an office, he/she is available anywhere and anytime to perform a requested *tareng*. The payment for such services is not fixed, and can range from a one-time payment to life-long payments as mandated by him/her. This is sometimes a problem for his/her clients because the commercial *tareng ezak’s* prices are not standardised, and any amount can be charged, with no concern for the financial status of clients. Sometimes, this way of charging clients has led to life-long serious conflicts, particularly because the *tareng ezak* does not know the value of money, and so arbitrarily quotes prices for treatment.

In summary, the commercial *tareng ezak* operates on his/her own and has his/her own financial rules governing the treatments. One important characteristic of the commercial *tareng ezak* type is that he/she can exploit both the good and bad *tareng* in full freedom, because he is not committed to practicing either. His/her main aim is to acquire money.

The *tareng* texts collected for this study presented three main characteristics: first, each *tareng* has a beginning, evident in the first set of verses that present the problem, the
nature of the illness, who or what has caused the illness, and how the illness is affecting
the patient. This is exemplified in the first ten lines of the tareng for ögirîwa ‘toothache’
(see Appendix B, text B15a) which identifies the problem with the patient. The first line
says a’kraraimô ega’nonggazak moro’kong amôk a ‘the young one has been harassed
by some fishes’. The young one here refers metaphorically to the tooth in the patient’s
mouth, which was originally in good condition and thus young, until attacked by the
toothache. Thereafter, several fishes are named as the cause for the ögirîwa ‘toothache’.
The patient has been eating all these fishes overtime, and so the tareng chanter blames
them for causing the teeth to rot. Then, in the eleventh line of the ögirîwa tareng, the
chanter repeats the first line again: a’krarimô eganonggazak ‘the young one is being
harassed,’ to re-emphasise the problem or the illness to be cured and to close the
introductory part of the tareng.

Part two of the tareng is where the tareng performer identifies himself as the one
who is going after the illness, as the medium through which the condition would be
cured, and how this will be done. This is exemplified in lines 12 through 14, where the
tareng chanter says eborobôk sa’ne eaik ko ‘I am finding the cause myself,’
i’nöpangabôk sa’ne eaik ko ‘I am cooling it myself,’ and urô berô eji’ma ‘I am being
myself.’ The tareng performer who identifies himself as urô ‘I’ or me is a ka’pong
‘person or human being’, and is very powerful, since he identifies himself not just as
being human but as the spiritual being that he is.

Finally, in part three the performer switches his identity to being the embodiment
of the otter in the tareng for toothache, lines 15 and 16. At this point, he speaks on
behalf of the otter, whose attributes are invoked for curing the toothache: nîgaang sa’ne
bek urō dō sarorowa'kong ‘am I saying this as the waterdog?’ The final verses are repeated twice.

The other characteristics of the tareng text have to do with the frequency of some words in them, such as ega'nongga ‘to seriously harass someone’, eborobōk ‘to find something’, e'ailk ‘I am’, and independent emphatic particles like sa'ne, ko, and dō. In addition, there are frequently uses of quoted speech that are peculiar to tareng, such as urō berō ejima ‘while I am being myself’ and nīgaang sa’ne bek urō dō ‘Am I saying this as myself?’ The repetition of these quoted speech forms appears twice at the end of the tareng, to reinforce the power of the cure as directed by the chanter. This is typical of all Akawaio tareng, and these quoted speeches reinforce the formality, as well as the cohesion and rhythm of the tareng as an oral performance. The use of quoted speech here is to both detach the tareng ezak from his form as a physical person and to embody the powerful spiritual entity who is capable of healing an illness, as the medium through which animals, birds, reptiles, fishes and plants can give their assistance to cure an illness upon request. It follows that once a tareng healer says nīga ang sa’ne bek urō dō ‘Am I saying this as myself?’ he is not referring to his everyday physical self, but to his other spiritual self, or his identity as a plant, animal or fish.

Finally, tareng is not a public form of address and is classified as formal speech because its performances are fixed and predetermined. This is why the tareng ezak is expected to perform it exactly the same way as it was taught to his/her teachers by the Akawaio ancestors. This is clear to all members of Akawaio society, because the principles and rules of tareng are known to the entire community. It is performed only in the presence of the patients who are being healed, and sometimes their close relatives.
Outside of this, no one is allowed to listen in on the healing ceremony involving tareng. Among the San Blas Kunas and the Suyas of Brazil, the *ikar* ‘curing chant’ and the *sangere* ‘curing song’ also do not have an audience when they are performed. Like the Akawaio *tareng*, the Kuna *ikar* ‘curing song’ has only two main people present during the performance: the addressee, who is the knower of the *ikar*, and the addressee, known as the *suar mimmi* (Sherzer 1974.263-267). The Sun Blas Kunas also tend to perform some types of their *ikar* ‘curing chants’ in public and for entertainment purposes. For the Akawaio no type of *tareng* is performed in public, and even when a *tareng* chanter wants to do a *tareng* in a public place, for instance to send away the rain or a thunder storm, it is done quietly.

The other points about *tareng* are that it is not performed in everyday language, although there are some similarities between them. There are two major kinds of lexical differences to be found between the language used in a *tareng* and that used in colloquial Akawaio. First, some lexical items in the *tareng* are archaic Akawaio forms, which are never used in everyday speech. For example, the tareng form *wannaburimô* ‘grass’, shows the archaic full final syllable *bu* that has reduced to *k* in the everyday term *wannak* ‘grass.

The second kind of change between everyday and *tareng* vocabulary is the addition of extra morphological material to make them sound more impressive and ritualistic. There are four morphemes that pervade the ritual in a *tareng*: -*imô* ‘Augmentative’, -*gong/-kong* ‘Plural’, -*nerî* ‘type of something’, and -*i* ‘Possessed item.’ These are all nominal suffixes, used to portray specific extra meanings. While these morphemes are encountered in words in everyday Akawaio language, some of their
meanings are changed and are consistently used in the *tareng* text, so as to be characteristic of it. Thus, the -imō suffix means something giant-sized or bigger than usual; in everyday speech, it only shows up on lexicalised forms, like ōgō-imō ‘anaconda’ (literally oversized snake’) and pakara-imō the name of the local mountain range (literally ‘oversized testicles’), but in *tareng* speech, it appears to be used more productively, such as kwazugu-rimō ‘excessive, serious form of diarrhoea’ from everyday kwazuk ‘diarrhoea’. Similarly, -gong/-kong means tribe or species in *tareng* rather than just indicating plurality, like in everyday speech, and -ri indicates ‘type of something’ in *tareng*, whereas it is a non-productive marker of possessed status in everyday speech, restricted to a few nouns. Finally, -i indicates possession both in everyday language and in *tareng*, but in *tareng* it occurs on some words where it has been lost in everyday speech, e.g., wanabui ‘the grass’ instead of wanak ‘grass’.

The third type of change is substitution of ritualistic vocabulary for everyday vocabulary, either by changing one or more sounds in the everyday word or by having a completely different word. An example of a sound change is the word kidada ‘grasshopper’ in *tareng* speech, with the first sound changed from the everyday pidada ‘grasshopper’. An example of substitution of the entire word is manjik ‘girl’ in *tareng* speech, as opposed to uri’chang ‘girl’ in everyday speech. The *tareng ezak* who have been interviewed insist that such substitutions all represent the use of archaic language in the *tareng*, an assertion that can only be tested with future comparative studies.

Generally, the language of the *tareng* ‘ritual healing chant’ uses metaphor very effectively to develop a fixed ritual way of speaking in Akawaio. One reason is to prevent the spirits from understanding what is being said during the curing process. This is to
avoid an obstruction of the healer’s powers by the spirits, which might result in a negative reaction on the patient being cured. The other reason why the language of tareng is disguised is to maintain its fixity and formal characteristics, since it was handed down in this way from generation to generation by Akawaio ancestors.

4.4 Mire aburëbôdî ‘Praising Rhymes’ for Male or Female Children

The second type of Akawaio speech genre to be analysed in this study is mîre aburëbôdî ‘praising rhymes for children’. There are only two distinct types of praising rhymes for children, both exemplified in this study: male and female praising rhymes. However, since both text examples of each type of praising rhyme (two for female and two for male) are so distinct from each other, this chapter analyses all four. Mîre aburëbôdî ‘praising rhymes’ is the act of ritual and playful praising of the male or female child within the age range of six months to two years old by a mother. It is only performed by mothers, and it is one of the activities which exemplifies a tangible way in which a mother shows her love for her child, and also it provides a medium to contribute to the socialization of her child as a male/female in Akawaio culture.

The performance takes place anywhere, but it is done more often near the fireside, after the bath of the child in the morning. Usually the bathing of the infant takes place around six o’clock in the morning; this bath extends into grooming activities and the shaping of the various body parts of the baby. This is done by rubbing, massaging and manipulating the feet, calves and arms, to guide them into the perceived ideal shapes acceptable by Akawaios. Thereafter, the baby’s entire skin was rubbed with oils, then adorned. In earlier times, a necklace full of colourful macaw bird feathers and seeds with
matching armlets and anklets was put on around the neck of a baby boy. A baby girl wore necklaces made out of colourful seeds and beetle wings. Her anklets, made out of colourful beads, were tied in place. However, this elaborate preparation of the baby prior to a praising rhyme is no longer evident today.

The praising rhyme is then performed by the mother by holding up the infant on her lap in a standing position. She begins to repeat the praising rhyme loudly, rhythmically and playfully to the child while looking up at him or her directly. There are a lot of rhythmic head gestures and happy facial expressions during the performances. The child responds by enjoying this attention and would begin to laugh aloud, coo and dance up and down, while still on the mother’s lap, to the rhythm of the praising rhyme. The baby does this throughout the performance of the rhyme.

There are two kinds of praising rhymes: warawok mīre aburōbōˈtok ‘praising rhymes for baby boys’ and uriˈchang mīre aburōbōˈtok ‘praising rhymes for baby girls’ (see Appendix B, texts B17-18). Individually, the praising rhyme for the male and female centres around two gender specific roles. For the female, the main foci are on being beautiful, which is very different in Akawaio, and being an expert in processing cassava into various products, such as the cassava bread and local beer. Female beauty in Akawaio is based on the broadness of the back, wide hips, strong calves, long flowing hair and brute strength. Facial beauty is not very important. For the male, the main foci are on being handsome, on being an accomplished hunter of big game, such as the deer, wild pig and tapir, and having the physical body to successfully accomplish this. The emphasis on these two gender-specific activities (processing cassava and hunting) is ultimately based on their importance in Akawaio culture.
Cassava products are the main staple of the Akawaio people, and thus socialization of the women centres around production and processing of cassava/yucca/manioc. This is a root vegetable for which great skill is needed by the Akawaio woman to plant it, harvest it, fetch it from the farm, which is often located as much as six to ten miles away from the village, and to process it. Various rituals are associated with the processing of cassava, and without having the knowledge for processing it, an Akawaio woman is considered useless. Similarly, the male in Akawaio society is expected to be a great hunter and fisherman. Akawaio males are seen as being particularly enterprising and resourceful when they can hunt down big game. This is because it takes physical strength and endurance to catch and kill them for food, while requiring complex hunting rituals to enhance these attributes.

The structure of the praising rhyme itself consists of two parts. In the first, the mother, the performer, establishes the gender and status of the child. Status of the child means that he/she is being spoken to as an adult and as one who has things to do on earth. The baby is also sometimes seen as the reincarnation of a dead relative, so that if it is a boy and he shows any attribute of a dead father or brother, he is treated like that relative. This is alluded to in some individual rhymes. The second part consists of praising the child with regards to his/her physical condition and other attributes. In particular, the mother emphasizes how these attributes are to be used to perform various gender-specific roles. For the male child, this means bringing game home for a mother by hunting and fishing, building a house, cutting down a farm, protecting his mother, and in all other ways being an ideal Akawaio male. For the baby girl, this means processing cassava,
cooking, making lots of beverages of all kinds, and making the young men cry because of her beauty.

There is much exaggeration about the male baby's physical attributes and during the performance the mother would ask questions like 'Where are your cute little feet or calves which you will use to bring home game for me? Are you the one who will shoot the yarau fish for me? Where is your cute penis through which you urinate and one which looks like the beak of the bird?' The mother then answers these questions accordingly with much enthusiasm and pride. This preoccupation with the body is in keeping with Akawaio expectations of the physical male. Akawaio men must be well-built, muscular, strong, with muscular calves and sturdy feet. These attributes are seen as being ideal for running down big game during hunting, fishing, preparing the fields for cassava, cutting and fetching lumber and other materials for building a house, paddling a canoe for long periods during travel, and generally for enduring all types of manual labour and feats. Reference is also made about the male penis as the symbol of his manhood, and is described in one male praising rhyme as resembling the beak of the birds hunted by the male (C.W Male praising rhymes).

Generally the praising rhyme is performed to the child as though he/she is an adult and as though he/she was understanding what was being said. Although the child at six months to two years old could be at different stages of growth, talking and having good comprehension for any kind of speaking is limited. This is obvious to the Akawaio mother and to counteract this, when the mother asks questions of the child in the rhyme, she does not await an answer, but answers them herself in a jocular fashion. In another sense, she is talking to the child as an adult because there is the perception that the child
represents the re-incarnation of a relative. Hence, although he/she is a baby the spirit in him/her is an adult.

A praising rhyme does not have fixed verses because a different one is developed for every child, created on the spot by the mother. Further, even this one is not going to be the one to be performed every time to the same child. This is because the mother has the freedom to create verses for the praising rhyme by ad libbing each time she praises the child. While they are all performed in the same way, each Akawaio mother is known to have her own repertoire and style for praising rhymes. Mothers can say anything to their children in the praising rhymes while ad-libbing and only they can decide on the length. Even so, there is a fixed template around which the creation of the praising rhymes must be developed, and this takes into consideration the general aims for performing the praising rhymes.

First, a praising rhyme is the medium through which an Akawaio mother shows her love for her child. At the same time it serves as the ideal way to (1) socialize her child; (2) place the child into a social position in relation to his mother; (3) teach the child his/her specific gender roles; (4) build up Akawaio pride and self esteem of the growing child; (5) initiate the child into feeling good about his/her own body and the functions of it as an Akawaio; (5) play with the baby; (6) give the baby a fond name, which can be used thereafter by relatives and (7) satisfy a mother who is fantasizing about having a child who she can be proud of (see examples of all this in the praising rhymes in appendix B, texts B17-18). Praising rhymes reflect these values at all times, so the creativity of the Akawaio mother is constrained by the need to conform to these norms.
The languaged use in performing a praising rhyme sounds exactly like baby talk in Western societies. It is very rhythmic, repetitive and fond. The Akawaio mother would speak with a high pitched voice, in soft tones, and call every word like a child that is just learning to talk. This is done in a sing-song manner that expresses extreme fondness, marked by the frequent usage of the diminutive particle ri’kwô ‘petite, cute, precious’. Certain everyday words are pronounced differently in praising rhymes, in some cases as apparent archaic forms, such as tuguruji for everyday tugui ‘humming bird’ and pa’wiji for pawik ‘powis currassow (crax alector)’. Others are simply augmented in ways that sound more precious, such as sawa’waru for pawaru ‘toasted cassava bread drink’, chinanggurii genang for tinanggu genang ‘one with beverages’ and simoinerîdong for moinedong ‘handsome men/boys’.

In summary, praising rhymes are a platform where a child is treated as a body, an individual with a distinct personality bearing important pro-Akawaio attributes which necessitate his/her acceptance into Akawaio society. This is clearly the preoccupation of the Akawaio mother, the performer who through this medium seeks to instil and portray the self images of an ideal Akawaio.

4.5 Pandong ‘Story’

The third and fourth Akawaio speech genres that are the subject of this study are pandong ‘story’ and zegareme’nôdok ‘personal narrative’. These both belong to the same category, ebadaangdok ‘narration’ (recall from Figure 4.1). They are distinct because a narrative is not a discrete category in Akawaio but a prototype (cf. Tannen 1984:95). By virtue of this, the term for storytelling acts and those of speech events such
as personal narratives are not autonomous. While all the speech events in the *ebadagandok* ‘narration’ category could be referred as subtypes of a single genre, each one is distinctly identified as a separate speech event by the assignment in the Akawaio languages of special names (again, see Fig. 4.1). The important thing about *ebadagandok* is that it presents itself and its subcategories as a collective belonging to the same type.

The analysis of *pandong* ‘story’ in the remainder of this section is not only limited to its strict definition as a way of speaking to recount events, but in addition by the sense that it consists of stories about birds, animals, fishes and non-human characters. In addition, *pandong* stories explain the relationship of Akawaio people to the environment and the non-human world and explain their place in such a world. *Pandong* ‘story’ is one of the mediums through which Akawaios classify their world generally. These terminological discriminations within the *pandong* ‘story’ and *zegareme’nōdok* ‘personal narrative’ categories pinpoint that story-telling is viewed as an activity in its own right, and it does not always occur as part of another activity. In fact, telling stories for their own sake is particularly important for the Akawaios, because stories are used to express the values, mores and ideologies of Akawaio culture. For this reason, story-telling is always a very serious and important activity and is the medium through which cultural knowledge is passed on to the next generation.

This is why, although story-telling serves as a form of entertainment, it is also a forum for counselling and a medium for scolding, a means for developing and practising speaking skills, and for general education of the young. Stories reflect how the Akawaios explain their origins and existence, and are an important part of their world view. This is
in contrast with such cultures as the European Jewish culture, where telling stories for their own sake is seen as running counter to the professional speech ideals of the Jewish community (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1974: 284). This is because a lamdn ‘learned man or scholar’ is not expected to express Jewish ideals through the story medium. In fact, expressing anything through just a story medium was characteristic of people with lower status, such as women, lower class men and deviants. In this sense, European Jewish women are defined as gossipers who engage in idle talk and tell stories not just to make a point, but for their own sake (ibid).

First, pandong ‘story’ is said to be a connected narrative of important events of the remote past (history), for reporting previous experiences and narrating some incident or event. It is the act for making a statement or a report regarding facts pertinent to a particular situation, for giving a detailed account of the career of a particular individual (autobiographical narrative) or sequential facts about one’s life (personal narratives). For the Akawaio, pandong ‘story’ is a way of speaking, which includes personal narratives and traditional stories in the sense of the Kalapalo of Brazil (as described by Basso 1986: 120).

There are different types of pandong ‘story’ in Akawaio. These include idöbiya pandomii ‘creation stories’, zewa‘nomang bandomii ‘war stories’, ebanamang bandomii ‘stories based on morality’, ka’pong bandomii ‘stories about people’, stories about piyai’ma ‘mountain giant, kone’o ‘rabbit’, other ok ‘animals’, torong ‘bird’, a’kwari’pi ‘spirit/ghost’, and kanaimô ‘Amerindian killer cult’. The stories in this study represent a wide range of these categories, with two stories about piyai’ma ‘mountain giant’, and also stories about makanaimô ‘Akawaio hero’, kanaimô ‘Akawaio silent killer cult’,
torong ‘bird’, and several about kone’o ‘rabbit’, kaiguji ‘tiger’, iwarga ‘monkey’, and wayamori ‘turtle’ (see Appendix B, texts B1-B9). Beyond those given here, there are stories that cannot be told at night, stories that should never be told in public, stories that are only meant to make people laugh, stories that cannot be told during a hot sunny day, and stories that could only be told by older people, men and women. One example of stories that cannot be told during late nights are snake stories. This is because it is believed that snakes can simply crawl into the storyteller’s hammock later, while he/she is asleep. To avoid this, even the names for snakes should not be used in night stories, but they should only be referred to with the word chi’nak ‘string’.

There are no major settings for telling a story and so it can be told anywhere except in a healing ceremony or a funeral. The settings for story-telling are very informal and so they are told during a visit to the home of a relative. Story-telling can take place at bedtime, as a form of relaxation when everyone is in their hammocks. This is the time jokes and stories are told late into the night by adult members of the family, taking turns. During this time, the teller is taunted and questioned about details in the story, to test its truth value or simply to evoke laughter. In another context, men who have just come back from long journeys, or hunting and fishing trips, tell each other stories about these expeditions, recounting their experiences to one another. These stories are usually told while sitting around the fireside at someone’s home, while making handicrafts, when drinking, or as part of any conversation. Akawaio children are also known to tell stories to each other during moonlight nights. They sit around in a circle to listen to each other take turns telling stories. This is like a game for the children, and in this way each child is given the opportunity to show off his or her knowledge, and the number of stories that
they know. Story-telling sessions such as these are the beginnings to the nurturing of future story-tellers and orators. Finally story-telling can be told during community self-help activities such as building a house; cleaning up the village; clearing a field or building a boat. It is a common activity during village feasts, where adult men take turns telling funny stories to entertain everyone. However, in this context the stories are told in a very informal way, and no one is expected to stand in front of an audience just to tell a story.

So story-telling is a very impromptu type of performance, which can take place amidst other activities, without being especially planned to be performed in front of an audience. Sometimes it emerges out of the mood evoked by an informal social activity such as friendly gatherings and in settings where other social bonds are established as the essence of communal life. The duration of telling stories is variable, depending on the context within which they are told and the audience who the story is being told to. For example, the story selected to tell during a community activity should be relatively short and entertaining. Anyone recognising this should do the same when their turn comes around. In contrast, stories told at home to the family at bedtime, while everyone is in their hammocks or just sitting around the fire, can be of varying lengths. Therefore there is no special time frame, and storytelling can go on until the wee hours of the morning. This is only acceptable because storytelling in this instance serves to unify and bring families together, reinforcing kinship solidarity.

There are no professional story-tellers in Akawaio communities today, but there are individuals who are respected expert raconteurs, even though they are not paid for doing this. This means that there are individuals who are narrative specialists without
being professional narrators in Akawaio society, as parallel to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s (1974.284) observations about storytellers in European Jewish culture. Regardless, not everyone is a good story-teller; but older Akawaio males and females tend to be good story-tellers, even though some are always better than others. The reason for this lies in their long experience in telling stories, and the collection of stories memorised over time. They also have the skill to use narrative devices to enhance the story’s appeal. In addition, because of their seniority and experience, older Akawaio are aware of which stories are relevant to everyone within the Akawaio society. In this sense, they know which events or narrations are ideal for making a general or specific point and which ones have extra-situational value, such as the story’s entertaining, enlightening and newsworthy value. This is why it is important for young people to learn from older story tellers in Akawaio society by simply listening to their narratives as often as possible.

The main characteristic of a good story teller is the skill of successfully delivering the content of a story. By this it is meant that the story teller must know the story well enough not to make digressions, present events in chronological order, keep listeners interested rather than bored, keep repetitions to a minimum, add witty components that would enhance the story told; but even this should be carefully done to avoid embarrassing the listeners. Finally, the story must be told with full use of drama evident in relevant expressions, energy, body movements, mimicking sounds of animals in the story or breaking in to a song when the need arises. It follows that a good Akawaio story teller is a talented dramatic speaker who has the skill for making other people listen and laugh.
Participants who listen to story telling tend to be the ones who constantly evaluate the story teller as the performance is taking place, as either telling a good story or not. They tend to participate in various ways, either by looking excited, happy, interested, bored, or by just paying attention. This is evident in the participant’s laughter when the story is sweet, their prompting and cheering the story-teller on during the performance, giving supportive comments whenever necessary, and agreeing with the teller by giving loud verbal feedback or expressions which reflect agreement with or involvement in the narrator’s performance. On the other hand, participants can promptly criticise the story teller when the performance is not good. There is no laughter, participants can stop the teller with clarifications and disagreements, participants can ignore the story teller and have a different conversation, and when the story is told at bedtime participants can simply fall asleep.

The characteristics of Akawaio stories could be assessed within the model suggested by Labov and Waletsky (1967), who suggest six different components of narratives: (1) the abstract, which summarises the main point or result of a story; (2) orientation, which identifies characters, time and place; (3) complicating action, which recounts events in a chronological sequence; (4) evaluation, which is the process of transmitting attitudes or emotions of speaker and/or other characters; (5) result or resolution, which provides the point of the story and (6) coda, which terminates the story, so that listeners do not ask ‘and then what happened?’ For Labov and Waletsky, a narrative should always have complicating action and resolution, while all the other components are optional.
Placing one of the Akawaio *pandong* texts, Turtle Story (Appendix B, text B9) into Labov and Waletsky’s model, it is found that the turtle story begins with an abstract. This is reflected in the story-teller’s introduction, which says *wayamori eji'pī mōrō migi pandong ji* “There was once a turtle and this is now the story”, *wayamori ya kaiguji engu’tō’pī* ‘The turtle fooled the tiger’. This second line (line 011 of the text) represents also the orientation of the story, since it identifies the main characters, time and place. What becomes evident here is that the turtle is the main focus of the story, as tiger is hardly ever referred to directly.

The next four lines (012-015) summarize the complicating action of the turtle story, as it seeks to give a chronological sequence of the events in the story. Thus, the events in the story begin by the first thing the turtle says to the tiger: *abīne migi mōng padawayan ek ane mō bona migi yeno’magō ta’pī ya* ‘He said, “Please throw me away among those padawa trees!”’ *mōng padawayan yek mō na’nek chiya* “Among those padawa trees, look them over there far away.” In the first three sentences, there is no mention of who is to do the throwing and who is to be thrown. Only when the tiger actually throws the turtle away does the story teller make it clear that the turtle was asking the tiger to throw him away, so that the tiger would not eat him (016). Then in line 016, the tiger throws the turtle away, and in 017 the turtle falls into the water where the padawayan trees are. In 018 turtle swims and crawl out of the water. Suddenly, in line 019, the turtle is being described as still in the water and swimming to the surface. Then in line 020, the turtle is described as coming out of the water finally and going its way.

In lines 021 and 022, the turtle is said to have met the tiger again, although the word ‘tiger’ is not mentioned directly, but rather as *enō’maningni’pī* ‘the one who threw
him away’. Hereafter, the story tells seems to skip some relevant facts, but still seems to maintain some chronology. This is evident in line 023, where the turtle is described as being on the surface of the water, and is saying to the tiger *abîne domba amôk migi egam’pogô* ‘Wait ask my relatives’. Again, it is not clear that there was any conversation between the tiger and the turtle, about tiger wanting to eat the turtle. Despite this, only what the turtle said to the tiger is quoted by the storyteller, without any background. The storyteller explains that the turtle was lying to the tiger about the *kamaraiwa* birds being his relatives in entry 024. In entry 025 and 026, the turtle is described by the storyteller as still talking to the tiger, but this is not reflected in the sentence, since there is only the turtle saying *abîne diurumi ji kozô’kwak, kôzô’kwak...kak...kak...kak egebe ji*, ‘Wait and listen to how they are squawking, they are squawking very loud’, *kamoro ji domba amôk* ‘Those are my relatives’. Finally, as the story is about to end (as portrayed in entry 027), the tiger is indeed terrified with the strange squawking of the *kamaraiwa* birds, who the turtle said were his vicious relatives. As the tiger runs away in fear the turtle is said to continue saying *domba amôk kamoro kamoro domba amôk* ‘They are my relatives, they are my relatives’. In entries 029, 030, and 031, the story ends by the storyteller saying *môrô gaza rô ye’pôdî’pî môrô na’nek* ‘That is how he use to be in that very way’, and *môrô rôgeng môrô gaza biandomû eji* ‘that is all, that is how his story is’.

The turtle story also contains the *evaluation* characteristics as suggested by Labov and Waletzsky (1967). Evaluation in a story refers to how a narrator transmits attitudes or emotions into his storytelling, and how he does this to other characters in the story. The storyteller became so involved in the story during the climatic juncture of the turtle story,
such as when the tiger agreed to throw the turtle away and when the turtle actually got away by playing a trick on the tiger. The storyteller talks faster and the various intonation patterns in his speech are more exaggerated. He also uses more sound symbolic expressions in Akawaio, such as ḍok! (entry 027), which tells the listeners to ‘pay attention’, because something is about to happen in the story; hāing!, an expression to describe sudden absence (entry 018); ong!(entry 016) describing a distance for throwing an object; sa’tuup! (entry 017) describing the sound of an object landing heavily into the water; and tarai-darai (entry 018) expression for describing crawling away. In addition, the story teller used a lot of gestures, such as hand movements and pointing with the lips to describe distance, and constant lowering of the voice to mimic the voices of the turtle or the tiger.

The turtle story also portrays Labov and Waletsky’s (1967) result and resolution, the component that provides the point of a story. In the turtle story, it is clear that the great mighty tiger was fooled very easily when the turtle said to him that the kamaraiva birds were his relatives. The turtle particularly selected these birds because they squawked so viciously and loudly. They were so loud that poor tiger had to run away in fear and give up his hope for eating turtle. The point of the story is to never think that because you are so big and strong, you are always smart and can always take advantage at all times. In fact there is always someone much smarter than you.

Finally, it is clear that the Akawaio turtle story has Labov and Waletsky’s (1967) coda component as well. This refers to the termination in a story, it points to an ending where listeners do not have to ask ‘and then what happened?’ This is clearly evident in the ending of the turtle story, when he says mōrō rōgeng mōrō gaza biandomii ejī ‘that is
all, that is how his story is’. When an Akawaio storyteller makes such a statement at the end of a story, it simply means that there is nothing more to tell.

The turtle story discussed above is the prototypical way of narrating stories by Akawaio story tellers. A summary of the general characteristics of this kind of storytelling is necessary to understand the interaction between the speaker and hearers in Akawaio story telling sessions.

First, there are two types of story tellers; those that tell original stories meaning that the stories have originated with the storytellers. The stories were handed down to them by their immediate relatives over a period of time and so they are keepers of the original stories. The turtle story described before falls within the original type story, told by a seventy-nine year old Akawaio man from Waramadong Village. Families are known to specialise in some stories, which are only known to them. Storytellers within this category tend to be older people, about 61-90 years old. The non-original type consists of story tellers who relate stories of every kind, but none are original. The stories within this category were learned from other story tellers within the community, from other groups outside of the community, from the original story tellers or from peers during impromptu storytelling sessions. Many of these type of storytellers are younger, with ages ranging from as young as 8 to 60 years old. There is need now to focus on the main characteristics that are observed in Akawaio story telling and the differences in each story type identified as being either original or not original.

All Akawaio stories are told like a puzzle, and at all times listeners have to keep track of who is doing what to whom without interrupting the storyteller with questions. This because once the storyteller identifies the characters in the story at the beginning, as
was evident in the turtle story, they were seldom or no longer referred to by their proper names in the rest of the story. They are only referred to in terms of the 3rd person singular, which makes it hard sometimes to decide which character the story teller is talking about. In a similar fashion, the story is never fully chronological, leaving parts that are not clear even to the listener (see discussion above for the Turtle Story). Due to this non-specificity in the identity of the characters in the narration and the faltering in the chronology of the story, it is often very difficult for non-Akawaio people to appreciate the real gist of the story when reading an English translated Akawaio story. Also the free English translation often looks like itemized phrases with no coherence. This is because the English translation cannot fully capture the way a story is told by an Akawaio story teller. For example, Akawaio sound symbolic words and expressions do not have equivalents in English and cannot be translated while retaining its full effect in a story.

Some of examples of the main features observed in most of the story texts under study included intonation which was triggered by climactic and dramatic junctures in the story, such as when something is about to happen marked by ōp! an expression denoting something is about to happen or it says to pay attention to something important in the story. This is said in an aggressive, but excited tone. Hei! expression of glee asking listeners to pay attention to the leading character in the story, who is about to outwit the oppressor. This is said by lowering the voice and thereafter making an almost guttural sound. Aigo ri’kwō ‘poor one’ or ‘poor little one’ is an expression used by the story when empathising with a character, not necessarily in a genuine way. Aigo ri’kwō is said in soft tones similar to baby talk. Haing! is an expression denoting sudden action, or
disappearance of a character in the story. It is said while having the hands widely open and with a voice of surprise. *Sungwarong-ng!* is an expression used to indicate distance in a story. The extra -ng denotes style in speaking. The story teller would add this nasal to the ends of words while pointing towards a particular direction and speaking in a high pitched voice. Ō..ō..ōu! describes shouting in a story and is said by opening the mouth partially, then producing the back vowel ō, then lowering the voice to produce the vowel u.

Many of the stories in this study are also full of sound symbolic words, such as *tuu-ru-ruup* ‘describing an object or someone falling slowly onto the ground’, *pow-pow-pow* ‘describing the flying of a huge bird such as the eagle, *sasang-sasang-pesou-pesou* ‘describing the clumsy dancing of a huge person such as a giant’, *sa’tuup* ‘describing an object or someone falling into the river’.

The difference in Akawaio storytelling is also observed in the dichotomy between the original and the non-original stories. This difference is based on some grammatical features that are peculiar to each type of original and non-original Akawaio stories. When original stories are told, the story teller has no reason to indicate in the story that he heard it from someone else. Consequently, the story teller’s performance would reflect confidence. This is assessed by the long non-stop narration by the storyteller, which is devoid of repetition. Repetition indicates that the storyteller does not know the story well enough. It is also a strategy used by bad story tellers to take time out to think about what to say next without breaking the momentum. Confidence in a storyteller is also evident when reference in never made to hearing the story from anyone
or from any place. His performance is natural and funny without almost any effort and questions asked about anything in the story are always answered.

In summary, the original type stories such as the turtle story discussed in an earlier paragraph consist of full prose. It is told as an exemplary story, and so every sentence flows without any pauses and the story teller grips his audience with lots of gestures, singing and any other means that would keep the story alive. This leaves his sentences clear and clean, and there is no use of verb phrases such as *ta dok ya* 'so they say' or *môrô gaza tok ya egama’pî* 'that is how they told it'. This is because the teller of original Akawaio stories is not depending on another source for his stories.

On the other hand, stories considered as not being original are rife with the repeated use of verb phrases such as *ta dok ya* 'so they say'; *ta’pi dok ya* 'so they said'; *tawong môrô* 'so it says'; *negadai dok* 'so they said (in the distant past)'; *nîgabô’angne tok ko* 'so they usually say'; *taiya* 'it says'; *tawong ku ze* 'this is what it really says'; *nîgabô’tai tok ko* 'so they use to say' and *nîgabô’ai’nek tok* 'they always say'. These phrases and more are in plentiful supply in Appendix B, texts B1, B5, B7, and B8.

Gnerre's analysis of Ashuar discourse encountered such a situation. He pointed out that such stories exemplified a kind of 'reported speech' story, which behaves in this way in contrast to an original story, which does not do this. He indicated that this was the kind told by storytelling performers to a researcher, someone from another tribe or a non-Indian (Gnerre 1986:335). In the case of the Akawaio, a reported speech story is not only confined to those told to a researcher or non-Indian, but is also characteristic of many stories told by young story telling apprentices. It also extends to some older people who are not in the habit of regular story telling and who really do not know the source of the
stories they tell. For example, one Akawaio story teller in his *piyai’ma* (mountain giant) story made this statement: *wik po sa’ji wik tau sa’ji te’se ng* ‘On the mountains, he is one that is within the mountains’. This is followed quickly by *tabödööök ne tok mang go* ‘so they often say’ or ‘so they all say’ (B8, T.L Piyai’ma Story 016-017). These quotative phrases appear constantly in non-original Akawaio stories because all these stories originated from Akawaio ancestors. By virtue of this, no one must claim the right to them or claim to know them well. Thus, the *tok* ‘they’ in *ta dok ya* ‘so they say’, and all the other ‘theys’ in the quotative phrases listed before, is seen as an acknowledgement of the Akawaio ancestors, who are the true knowers of the stories.

In addition, what the story teller is also doing is detaching himself from being the source of the story he is telling. One reason is to show that he cannot be challenged about the authenticity of the story and cannot be blamed for passing on an inaccurate story to anyone. Gnerre observed that for the Shuar, ‘reported speech’ type stories indicated that the narrator had limited knowledge about the story. It was a way of saying that ‘somebody else more reliable than I, with more knowledge than me, told the story’. Gnerre further stated that this way of thinking among the Shuar story tellers was ‘the act of embedding the temporal/aspectual frame of reference into a definite past in order to increase the distance between the narrator (in his function as an informant) and the narrative content, to state that somebody (or everybody) once said or use to say.’ (Gnerre 1986: 335).

Finally, regardless of the context, place, formality and informality of the story telling performances, Akawaio story tellers continue to used *ta dok ya* ‘so they say’; *ta’pi tok ya* ‘so they said’ and so on, to indicate detachment from being the source of the story.
Among the Shaur, whenever a story was told out of context, it triggered the use of such forms as t-i/a/u- in Shaur. One such context is the researcher/informant situation, which is considered formal, as opposed to a semantic one by the Shaur. This because it is a special interaction where the researcher (outsider) is silent most of the time and is not engaging in a dialogic way with the informant, in the way the Shaurs do it. For Gnerre, the Shaur forms t- i/a/u-, in the out-of-context story telling represented substitutions for the dialogic interchange. In the Akawaio situation, this is not that clear.

4.6 Zegareme’nödok ‘Personal Narrative’

The fourth and final Akawaio speech genre that will be described and analysed is Zegareme’nödok ‘personal narrative’, whose literal meaning is ‘to talk about oneself’ or ‘to gossip about oneself’, and also means ‘to talk about one’s sexual prowess in public’. The last meaning will not be explored in this study, except to say that this is not an acceptable way of talking for the Akawaio. This is particularly so because the performer of such a talk would reveal graphic details of his sexual abilities and his experiences with various women in his life. It is performed by someone who is either drunk or a mere show off. Only males indulge in this act, which is a way of flirting with the women, taking the form of jokes and anecdotes. It is a very informal type of personal narrative and is performed during a public village feast, at a drinking spree or in some other public place in the presence of several women of marriageable age.

There are two types of personal narratives that are exemplified in the texts in this dissertation. The first is zegareme’nödok ‘personal narrative’, which is identified under ebadagangdok ‘narration’ and the second personal narrative performed at formal public
village meetings, identified as miiding maimu (B13-14, CB Personal Narrative, R. Personal Narrative). This second type is a subtype of òzö maimu 'serious language' (see Figure 4.1). Zegareme'nödok in Akawaio is the general term for describing the act of speaking solely about oneself, while miiding maimu refers to 'meeting language' within which a more formal type of personal narrative is performed.

The etymology of zegareme'nödok 'personal narrative' has it's roots in egaremedi 'narration' and this is noted in the morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown of zegareme'nödok; z- denotes a reflexive morpheme, egareme' 'narrate' (a reduced form of egaremedi) and -nödok a combination of the infinitive -nö with the nominalizer -dok. The discussion that follows will first look at zegareme'nödok 'personal narrative' and then contrast this description with a personal narrative performed using formal miiding maimu 'meeting language'. This is to show how these two types are different or similar to each other as genres and ways of speaking in Akawaio, especially with regard to being either formal or informal.

Zegareme'nödok 'personal narratives' are told within various contexts. Two more formal contexts are speaking in public meetings as part of a person's contribution to the discussions at a meeting and the response to a request to talk about him or herself, like the personal narratives told in response to direct questions asked by the researcher in the field. Completely informal contexts are during conversation, to support or to contradict a personal narrative told by someone else, or by simply taking a turn during a conversation. In such a situation, everyone tends to speak about themselves as part of an introduction, or as part of speakers' exchanging stories of personal experiences and of themselves. This is done to compare and illustrate similar points in their narratives (cf.
also Tannen 1984:100). Other less-formal examples are narration by someone who has stayed away from the community for a long time, introductions when someone is negotiating for a wife, perhaps by a father who is negotiating for a wife for his son or a husband for his daughter, and, not least, during gossip sessions. Most personal narratives are considered informal, the exceptions being the first two types identified above, the first being performed at an informant’s home and the other at a formal public meeting. The remainder are informal because they are not performed as structured events.

AE Personal Narrative (Appendix B, text B10) is a *segareme’nö dok* ‘personal narrative’ where a speaker talks about him or herself as a prelude to answering the researcher’s questions about various aspects of Akawaio culture. Consider AE’s personal narrative (001), this informant begins to talk about herself and family after being asked to do so by the researcher prior to talking about cassava (manioc) recipes. Here is the free English translation of what the informant said;

I was born here at Waramadong. The name of my parents are TL and ML, they are my beloved parents. They are the ones but my father came from Venezuela and my mother came from a savannah tribe in the same Venezuela. This is where my mother, M, came from. This is why we are somehow mixed and can’t say who we really are. I don’t know but my grandmother was an Akawaio and that is why I can say that I am really an Akawaio and I am one who lives here at Waramadong. I have seven children and they are all girls. There is no boy although I have desperately tried to have one and so I live like this with no boy up to now. I live making children, there is my last child (pointing). She is three years old, my last little child. My age is forty-four years old and that is presently my age. My husband is L, and he and I met and got married. Pastor Abdool married us. That is how we live here at Waramadong. We all live here in a hard way and we are not doing very well, as we have not found a good house, although we are trying generally. We want a proper home. We also do not have a lot of house articles and things. There is nothing for us to work with, such as a dangerous tool like the power saw, it is just not there. This is why our home is like this, although we are trying our best. While this is so, I will now go on to this. That is how I am bringing up my children also, they identify and live as Akawaios. However they are far
away at this time. They are in Venezuela. They work in Caracas, they are helping me and supporting us. They even give us money and they send clothing for us, our shoes and everything. It is good that they send us everything. Our wares and everything and it is like that that our children are helping us. This they do although they are not males, and they are better than the males I say. The male children are always the ones to get drunk and they do this while being far away. But the female children do not do this and instead they bring their money straight home. Then they give me the money and it is enough because there are three of them. They have been paid and they bring the money home. For this reason we live a bit well. I am saying we are far away and this is why we live like this, I am saying. Well, here we make this thing called kashiri (manioc beer). (Informant switches to speak about the recipe for Kasiri)

Examples of the formal *zegareme'nödok* ‘personal narrative’ categorise under *miiding mainu* ‘meeting language’ (see Figure 4.1). They are exemplified in Appendix B, texts B13, CB Personal Narrative, and B14, R Personal Narrative. These are just two of twelve formal *zegareme'nödok* which were performed at an honour ceremony meeting at Waramadong. The ceremony was to honour all those who contributed to the development of Waramadong and those who have made the village proud. In this ceremony, the audience was given the freedom to speak about how they felt about the people who were being honoured. CB is a female Akawaio elder and R is a middle-aged Akawaio man.

Both these individuals are particularly hurt about the retirement of the midwife in the village, since, as she had reached the government age of retirement, she was asked to leave her position at the health post. Both thought this move was not acceptable, since it was done without consulting with the villagers. What was not in good taste for them was the idea that, at the honour ceremony, people were expected not only to honour her through speech, but to also rejoice with the retired midwife by giving her gifts, hugs and praises. Both speakers begin by saying they are not happy with the circumstances under
which the midwife is leaving and they are not at the meeting to rejoice, because they are very disturbed about the retirement. This feeling in both speakers is compounded by the fact that the midwife was being replaced by a very young nurse with hardly any experience. They both use everyday language, but a dialect of Akawaio peculiar to the section of Waramadong known as Wayawa’pai (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.2 and Chapter 5 throughout. This is not a problem, however, since the dialect is readily understood by most.

The place where the personal narratives occur is in an open air village square outside the home of the Deputy-Chief of the village. The meeting is conducted and initiated by a village counsellor responsible for public events and village health issues. While the counsellor outlined the rules for speaking at the meeting, he did not dominate the right to speak. Every speaker was given all the time they needed to talk, but almost on que, each speaker stopped to give enough time for all the other speakers. The speakers are both loud and serious, and in R’s case almost shouting. Both narratives are fiery and edged with contempt. Both speakers sound very angry, as shown in their facial expressions and the intonations in their speech. This is illustrated in the following free English translation of CB Personal Narrative (Appendix B, text B13).

You all have made me happy, all of you who spoke, you all sounded happy. However, I am thinking why that is so, since she (the midwife) has left, although I wanted her to stay on. You all said thank you for that, but me, I am not happy and I am in a serious state of sadness. I thought she would have stayed longer to teach me. I do not have anything and I cannot say thanks in that way.

I wonder about what type of person she has left in her place. I have seen her (midwife) make a fuss over those that were giving birth, especially over there where my daughter-in-law was giving birth. She (daughter-in-law) was having a breech birth. Thereafter she went back to look after her, this very one(midwife) again.
In her absence is this how it will be? How? Why? In whose hands will she leave us? We are the ones without a doctor and so let me point this out to you. She (midwife) was training a young health worker and she kept saying to her “Do it like this, like this I say’ but this one kept making the same mistakes and kept asking “How are you doing it?” I then showed her (apprentice) by saying “Like this, like this!” So while I was thinking that this one (midwife) would be teaching those children (sarcasm referring to the young health worker as children) in this way, and while they have not taken in enough knowledge, ai‘tou! (expression of putting down or slamming down an object. Here the speaker equates the sudden forced retirement of the midwife as a put down of the speaker herself.) Are these (the young health workers) the ones who will look after me? They are ones who will kill me and this is not how I have seen the ways of this one (midwife)… There is also the time a baby was born big and was not breathing properly and she said to the mother, “Rub the baby in a circular fashion to make it breathe.” She (midwife) is leaving us with ‘those’ (rude reference made to the young health workers and a sign of detachment), who will give up on the stillborns and who will not help us in a manner like hers (midwife).

Just like that, in a snatch fashion, she is leaving. She has not said that she is leaving because her administrators want to. This is seriously making me sad and I am not rejoicing… I thought she would have been caring for me until I die. What is taking her off at this time? Is it maybe the sinful one? It is only the sinful one who can take you away suddenly, they say (they meaning someone else other than the narrator or Akawaio ancestors).

To such a situation, I am not saying thank you. My grandchildren will say thanks. As an old lady I will go with her. You have made me sad, you have all done it and my spirit is not happy. In her absence I do not even want to go and see the hospital, and the place where she was and the seat where she sat. I will not say, when I am sick, “Let me go and get some medicine,” because the children (referring to the young health workers) will give me the wrong medicine and it seems they will poison me. They are not really trained. That is why I have been sad…

Why is there a need to praise her at this sad time? In the meantime her child met me and ask me to come here and I was wondering what for? It is not my custom to come down here, not even to a meeting. However, I have said “Let me go and hear what they have to say,” and here it is she (midwife) does not even know why she is being laid off and this does not sound good to me. I thought that she was going to be here longer, although I know she has said that one day her bosses would let her go. I would accept it if she goes in that way, but not in the Akawaio way, but from higher up. While I am aware of all of that, I still ask the question: “Who are the ones that are good to replace her?” That is what makes me sad and it worries me and so I am not happy. This feeling is solely on my side and maybe some people are happy. That is all’.
What is noticeable in this narrative is the way the speaker personalises the whole issue of the retiring midwife as having a direct impact on her and her family. She also recognises that it will have an impact on the whole community. She is scolding all those who praised the retiring midwife and said thank you by pointing out that it was not the time to be happy but to be sad. She mentions several times that she was really sad over the situation. The speech itself was delivered in very angry tones, accompanied with hand gestures, voice changing and contortions of the face.

While the speech did not contain joking and use of expletives, there was a lot of sarcasm and some rude references in the speech about the young health workers who were to replace the retiring midwife. For example, the young medical apprentices were referred to as children who were untrained to help sick people, and as murderers who might poison and kill her because they lacked experience as health nurses. The narrator also alluded to stillborns or babies who are sometimes born not breathing properly. She points out that the young, inexperienced nurses will be the ones who will leave such babies to die because they will not know what to do. Narrator regrets that the retiring nurse would not be there to take of her until she dies, because she does not have any faith in the young nurses. Frequently, the narrator detaches herself from everyone who praised the retiring midwife, because she believes that the midwife was not retiring through official channels, but that it was the fault of the Akawaios at Waramadong.

Both the miiding mainu personal narratives are performed in everyday language. CB does not take the time to identify the main characters in her narrative, but begins immediately using pronouns like tok ‘they’, kiri ‘she’ and kamoro ‘those’ to refer to characters. Hearers are left to pick out which of the characters she was talking about.
during the narration, just as is common in the telling of a prototypical *pandong* story. AE’s personal narrative is a bit more structured and has a chronology. It has sound coherence and is easy to follow, with each character introduced explicitly within the narration.

Although both narrative use everyday language, both are considered ‘formal speech’. AE’s narration is formal because it was performed in answer to the researcher’s questions during a recorded interview, a strange speech context in the village. AE’s personal narrative is formal because the narrative was organised to happen in a very structured setting. In this case, the researcher made arrangements to meet the informant at her home. The interview was conducted while sitting with the informant at the table, as requested by the researcher. AE’s personal narrative reflects this structured interview and in her speech she is making sure that she speaks right, so that events are recounted in chronological order and presented in a formal way.

CB’s personal narrative is considered formal speech because it is performed in a structured event, in a formal Akawaio public village meeting. These meetings have rules of etiquette that require a certain type of behaviour and speech. For instance, some of the markers of formality in an Akawaio village public meeting include the stress on serious speech, which is delivered with a facial expression reflecting a serious appearance, in keeping with the seriousness of the overall themes of the meeting. The speech should not contain joking, teasing, taunting or use of expletives. There should be no lies told in such a personal narrative, because persons speaking in formal situations in Akawaio society are defined by their social status, public positions and personal identities in the sense of Judith Irvine (1979:776-779). These elements are the basis for invoking intimacy and
pride in Akawaio society. This is why whatever the speaker says in a public meeting is open to public scrutiny and evaluations for truth value.

In Western societies formal situations tend to focus on specific issues and happenings, which then constrains the speaker’s topic choice, the speaker’s right to change or introduce elements of his speech (ibid). In Akawaio society such restrictions are not emphasised and are irrelevant. Speakers have the right to address a topic the way they know it best, as part of their personal experience and in any way the topic might be relevant to the experiences of the entire Akawaio society. This way of speaking reflects a very personalised way for addressing public issues in Akawaio village meetings. This is done no matter how long it takes, and as long as the speaker’s contribution is relevant to the topic at hand. Since most, if not all, of the social happenings and events are interrelated in Akawaio society, analysing one event detached from another is virtually impossible. This is why a formal personal narrative at a village meeting legitimises one’s personal right to talk; participating in a meeting is seen as an extension of personhood, which is the symbol of all human activity, according to the Akawaios.
4.7 Summary: Why the four Akawaio speech types are ‘genres’

This section summarizes the characteristics of the Akawaio speech genres discussed in the preceding sections in terms of three major questions: (1) how is each genre similar (or not) to each other, and in particular, how do they tend to overlap in terms of performance, setting, content, style, overlap in their occurrences and use of language? The answers to this question allow them to be classified as ‘genres’. (2) How and why do the genres reflect aspects of Akawaio spirituality and the Akawaio philosophy of language? (3) In terms of this second question, why does every speech type tend to represent a collective, and how do they relate to other speech events and still belong to a wider speech domain within Akawaio society?

As mentioned before, Swales outlines three elements for defining genre, stressing the communicative purpose of the genre, patterns of similarity in structure, content, style and intended audience, and a genre name which is inherited and produced by the discourse community. How do these elements revealed in the four Akawaio speech genres, tareng ‘ritual healing chant’, mire aburóbödî ‘praising rhymes’, pandong ‘story’ and zegareme’nô ‘personal narrative’?

Considering the first element of genre, the analysis of communicative purpose, is clear that all four Akawaio speech genres can be deemed to be speech events, each possessing a communicative purpose. All their main functions and purposes are achieved through speech. Tareng ‘healing chant’ is used to cure illnesses, and this purpose is achieved through utterances made by a tareng ezak ‘owner of tareng’, through structured metaphorical verses consisting of petitions and self identifications, followed by blowing directly on a sick person or his/her food. The communicative purpose of mire aburóbödî
‘praising rhymes’ is clear in the series of gender-specific utterances made to a child by its mother, alluding to the physical make up of the male and female child’s body parts to show the relevance of this physiology to becoming an ideal Akawaio male or female. The communicative element of the praising rhyme is embodied in its direct performance by a mother while looking up at the child, who is held up in a standing position on her lap. While praising rhymes are performed privately by a mother to a child, their implications resonate into the wider social world of the Akawaio, functioning as the earliest institution for socializing young Akawaios into their gender and adult roles in the very macho Akawaio society. **Pandong** ‘story’ has the communicative purposes of providing entertainment, recounting the past, disseminating knowledge about ancestors and heroes, and scolding wrong-doers in the community or in private homes. In Akawaio culture, stories are told everywhere, which means that an audience is available wherever a story is told, though in a very unstructured way. Finally, **zegareme’nô** ‘personal narrative’ has the communicative purpose of establishing one’s personal history in different social contexts, such as during a conversation, or when asked to speak about oneself, or when someone has returned to the village after being away for a length of time, during gossip sessions, or in public village meetings while contributing to discussions on important issues.

The second criterion that Swales proposes for defining a recurring genre is a pattern of similarity recognised in speech events/genres in structure, style, content and intended audience. When the four Akawaio speech genres are assessed against these four criteria, it produces mixed results.
First, the similarity in structure between *tareng* ‘healing chant’ and *mire aburöbödi* ‘praising rhymes’ lies mostly in their shortness as a whole constructed unit. Both genres contain special ritual language, but the actual lexical items are very different and their usage also differs. In *tareng*, ritual language pervades each verse, meaning that there are more archaic verses and words within *tareng*. There is also greater reliance on quoted speech and metaphorical use of vocabulary to refer to properties of animals, birds, plants, spirits and fishes within the healing chant. In the praising rhymes, only certain words are ritualised to be phonologically different from everyday speech. There is no use of quoted speech, but there is metaphorical speech used to refer to the boy’s penis, and all the fishes and animals which he will bring home to his mother as game have ritualised names. In a similar vein, the words to describe the beauty of the girl, and the drinks that she will make, are all referred to by their ritualised names.

The only time lexical items in a *pandong* ‘story’ become metaphorical is that when stories are told about certain reptiles and monsters late at night, metaphorical terms are used instead of their names so that they will not appear in the dreams of participants, or even in their hammocks that same night. Both *pandong* and *tareng* use quoted speech in their language. Like *tareng*, *pandong* uses animals, birds, fishes, reptiles, plants and insects, among other entities, but not as metaphorical figures but as the subjects of some stories, and as anthropomorphic characters in nearly all of the stories. *Tareng* also treats animals, fishes, birds and plants as anthropomorphic beings with powers of various kinds, to assist in curing illness, but only in a metaphorical sense. *Zegareme’nö dok* ‘personal narratives’ are similar to *pandong* in that there is no kind of ritualised speech, and they are performed in regular everyday speech. The other ways in which personal narratives
is similar to story telling is in its function as the medium for telling stories about oneself and about experiences. Personal narratives and pandong are different to each other because personal narratives personalise their stories, as opposed to traditional stories, where the tellers recognise that the stories being told do not originate with them, but from somewhere else, requiring the use of a lot of quoted speech in traditional story telling.

With regard to structure, the pandong ‘story’ is similar to tareng and different from praising rhymes in that the structure of a pandong is fixed, and it is very important that the content of each story be told in the same way every time, just as is expected of tareng. This is to show respect for the stories, some of which are said to be handed down by Akawaio ancestors since the beginning of time, to be told to all the generations of the Akawaio over time. Therefore, although a storyteller can have a style of his own, they are not expected to change the facts of any story at will. This is also why anyone who is bent on telling a story should know it completely and well before trying to tell it. If this is not heeded, the teller could be faced with listeners who are familiar with the story, who also know how it should be performed, resulting in the denial of the truth value of the story told. This is also true for tareng, which must be performed without any alterations to its original form, since that would be disrespectful to the Akawaio ancestors with whom the tareng originated. In another sense, changing the form of a tareng could lead to viewing it with suspicion. So the performer always knows the tareng as a whole unit before every performance and its contents cannot be altered during the performances.

In contrast to tareng and pandong, the praising rhyme is more informal, because although it has ritualised metaphorical lexical items as a feature of its contents, and although it is not generally given in a public performance, the praising rhyme’s structure
and content is not fixed; each praising rhyme is created specifically to praise only the one child in the one moment, and different rhymes would be made up to praise a different child, or to praise the same child on a different occasion. In this sense, a mother has the freedom to develop any type of praising rhymes based on the characteristics of each child and according to its gender. The mother does this by ad libbing and this is why she never knows the content of her praising rhymes before performing them to her baby. Similarly, the structure of *zegareme'nödok* ‘personal narratives’ is not similar to the fixity of *tareng* and *pandong*, because when speaking about themselves and their own experiences, people are not required to faithfully repeat utterances received from others. In this sense, anyone performing a personal narrative never needs to know what will be said beforehand.

In terms of style there is a difference between *tareng* and the praising rhymes in that *tareng* is performed using very quiet and secretive speech, in the privacy of a sick person’s home. In a *tareng* healing ceremony, the *tareng ezak* ‘owner of *tareng*’ turns his back on his patient as he utters the *tareng*, then he walks over to the patient to blow on him/her before going back to continue his chanting. At no time is a sick patient seen as a participant in the *tareng* performance. This means that the *tareng ezak* ‘owner of tareng’ always dominates the ceremony in a powerful way. The only time *tareng* is performed aloud is when teaching it to students but what is performed is decoded prior to such a performance. This is done by talking about it in a story style, explaining what the archaic forms within its content mean and explaining the rules and regulations that govern *tareng* performances.
In contrast, the praising rhymes can be performed using a normal tone, similar to the one used for ‘baby talk’ in western societies. And while they can be performed privately at home, they can also be performed anywhere to entertain a baby, for example while waiting outside of the meeting house for the meeting to finish, or while visiting other relatives. Pandong and zegareme’nödok differ from tareng still more radically in style, with tareng performed by uttering verses very quietly, while pandong is performed loudly and accompanied by gestures, dramatization of characters, dramatic facial expressions, and heavy use of sound symbolic words, and zegareme’nödok may be performed differently, depending on which of the many contexts the performance takes place in. Some personal narratives are performed with great animation for an appreciative audience, while others can be quite private and intimate.

In terms of intended audience, both the tareng and praising rhymes are not public performances, that is, they are not performed in front of an audience as such. However, both have one-on-one contact with the addressee during the performance: the sick person is the only one the tareng is intended for and the only other person present is the performer, the tareng ezak ‘owner of tareng’; similarly, the mire ‘child’ is the only one that the mire aburóbödì ‘praising rhyme’ is intended for, and the only other person present is the performer, the mother. In contrast, in the performance of the pandong ‘story’ the performer faces his audience, who will be active participants at all times. The zegareme’nödok audience differs from the other three genres because, while the audiences for the first three are relatively predictable, the audience for zegareme’nödok is so variable, both with regards to who is in the audience and with regards to how the audience participates in the narrative event.
With regards to content, each genre clearly has its own cultural and semantic domain that it expresses, and there is almost no overlap in content between the four.

Swales’ third criterion is that a genre bear a particular name given to it by the parent discourse community. By this criterion, obviously each Akawaio speech form studied in this dissertation is a genre, as each possesses its own special name in the Akawaio language.

In conclusion, it is claimed that all four of these Akawaio speech genres reflect the main aspects of Akawaio spirituality, and in turn, a philosophy of language. Obviously, tareng as a speech genre is so steeped in Akawaio spirituality as to need no further justification of this point, but for the other genres, the connections are not so obvious. In the interests of completeness, the final portion of this section explores how Akawaio spirituality is reflected in each of the Akawaio speech genres.

First, all of the Akawaio speech genres reflect Akawaio spirituality in that each one is preoccupied with personhood. In tareng ‘healing chant’, the tareng ezak ‘owner of tareng’ embodies the spiritual person, one who can summon his own spiritual power and use his own erubaru ‘breath’ as the air or the wind that gives life, to cure an illness. The spiritual importance of the erubaru ‘breath’ in Akawaio spirituality lies in how it assists the soul in maintaining the life state of a person (see Section 2.4). It is within this tradition that the tareng speech genre finds itself, and so the tareng ezak ‘owner of tareng’ recognises the power of erubaru ‘breath’ and widely employs it for curing illnesses and other kinds of conditions in Akawaio society. It follows that both acts blowing and making utterances in tareng are required for successfully healing someone. In addition, the tareng ezak is viewed as a wise and important man and very few people
in the Akawaio spiritual world are described as being wise and intelligent. This means that only shamans, tribal elders and leaders are destined to be wise because they have more shamanic powers and are suitable to be arbitrators of their society. In general the *tareng ezak* ‘owner of tareng’ sees himself as the embodiment of a spiritual being who is able to speak, an attribute only humans have.

Recall also from Chapter 2 that speech is pre-existing, and comes from breathing the air at birth by a human child, whence it is lodged in the brain until activated in later years, when the child becomes a proper human being, marked by being able to speak. This is why the *tareng ezak* is also capable of becoming the medium for cures petitioned from other living things and objects during the *tareng* ceremony. These petitions reflects the Akawaio spiritual beliefs about the interrelatedness and unity of the cosmic universe, and the interdependency of everything that exists in it. It is not strange, therefore, for the Akawaio *tareng ezak* ‘owner of tareng’ to ask for help during the performance of *tareng* from the animals, birds, natural phenomena, plants and fishes.

*Mire aburōbōdi* ‘praising rhymes’ are influenced by the notion of personhood in Akawaio spirituality. The baby, a young person, becomes the object of fantasy and a work of art for the Akawaio mother. This speech event/genre begins with the body of the child, who, in earlier times, used to be dressed up in appropriate costumes before the praising rhymes were performed. After a bath, certain parts of the baby’s body were manipulated in ways that would allow the child, either male or female, to grow with large calves, broad backs, good feet not bowed, a well shaped face, proper biceps, strong ankles and a shapely nose. The body was oiled and then decorated with necklaces, amulets and anklets before a praising rhyme was performed by the mother. Today, the
manipulation of the body parts continues but costuming is optional. Clearly, the focus of the praising rhyme is the creation of the ideal Akawaio man or woman, both physically and spiritually, by an Akawaio mother. She utters what she expects of each child in several different ways, directly to them, in a very playful way; she addresses them as though they were already adults. However, the language sounds like baby talk and the child dances to the rhythm of the praising rhyme. Praising rhymes also put words into the mouth of the child and in this indirect way teach the child how to speak as a man or a woman. The importance of the praising rhyme is that it serves to socialise the Akawaio child very early in life to be an ideal and useful person in Akawaio society. In general, the child is thought to present himself/herself as a social whole in the likeness of the cosmic universe.

**Pandong** 'story' is the tradition that implicates the true nature of a person as defined by Akawaio spiritual philosophy. It has been noted that speaking and speech in Akawaio thought is a spiritual given and has its origins is the air in the spiritual cosmos. In addition, pandong 'story' was handed down by Akawaio ancestors, which means that telling a story must be delivered in a particular way, in the way of the spiritual ancestors. Hence, stories cannot be changed arbitrarily and no one has the right to a story. This means that the pandong egamaning 'story teller' has to know his story well to maintain his prestige as a speaker and must always maintain the truth-value of the stories he tells. Because he cannot claim ownership to the stories told, he resorts to using quoted speech in his stories as the strategy to detach himself from saying the story came from him. As a member of the Akawaio nation he cannot profess to own a story that belongs to everyone.
Finally, *zegareme'nōdok* 'personal narrative' is a speech event/genre that places the person onto centre stage and in this way, it is an event that focuses on personhood. In Akawaio spirituality the person must always represent a unified form. Therefore anything a person does is done as an extension of himself. In Akawaio personal narratives, it is clear that a speaker is forced to define and identify himself and his family before speaking about other things in any given situation. In this study, two kinds of personal narratives are evident, the personal narrative which came about because of the researcher's request and the other personalised narrative, which was performed at a public village meeting. In the first, the speaker takes great care to give details about her family and her life, and the presentation is done in a chronological way. In a normal situation, because mostly men are expected to talk at all times in an impromptu situation, an Akawaio man would always start by identifying himself, his family, and what he has before contributing a point at a meeting or other social gatherings. This is the accepted way of the Akawaios. Again, this shows how important it is in Akawaio society to focus on the social units in the society to define solidarity and unity. In a similar vein, the Akawaio man is expected to present himself as the holistic person he is, and his family and all that belongs to him is seen as part of this whole. His speech is what allows him to contribute to the universe of discourse and is an important spiritual aspect of his personhood.

In summary, there is no denying that speaking is the most important part of Akawaio life and this is why it is performed in many different ways for many different reasons. It is a highly institutionalised aspect of Akawaio cultural system and ways of
speaking have their origins in how Akawaios view and compartmentalise their highly spiritual world.
Chapter 5. Sociolinguistic Variation

In 1999 the first field trip was made to Waramadong village to begin to collect various Akawaio texts to amass data for the researcher’s dissertation, which is to focus on traditional Akawaio speech genres, such as personal history, myths and legends, rituals, oral history, procedural narratives and conversational narratives. During this first trip, 40 Akawaio speakers were selected to be interviewed primarily on the basis of their reputation for knowing their language and culture. Secondary bases for selection were their neighbourhood of residence (in order to ensure representation of the entire village) and age (separated into 3 categories: 4 young people [20-30 yrs], 16 middle-aged [31-50 yrs] and 20 old people [51-80 yrs]. In initial inspection of the interviews, the researcher noted far more variation than she had expected, and a brief inspection of the social factors associated with each speaker made it clear that the variation correlated best with the region of Waramadong in which each speaker resided.

One topic of each interview was the personal history of the speaker and also what they knew about the history of Waramadong. Once it became clear that the variation had some bearing on the settlement patterns, the content of all the interviews (including the ones that had not been transcribed) became relevant to help in understanding the variation. Residents perceive Waramadong as being divided into four distinct sections consisting of, from East to West, (1) Enemoroji’pai, (2) Samawa’pai, (3) Abamang and (4) Wayawa’pai (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.2). Waramadong is located in the Upland Pakaraima region in the Midwest of Guyana (see Appendix A, maps A2-A3), on the left bank of the Kamarang River (see Appendix A, map A4). The main village is occupied along the south bank of the river, with the unpaved Kamarang road coming into town.
from the East and then ending in a bend in the river about 2-3 miles West of the centre of Waramadong (see Appendix A, Map A5). Section 3, Abamang, is the centre of Waramadong, larger in size and population than the other three sections combined, and housing all the major governmental institutions, including the primary and secondary schools, the Seventh Day Adventist church, the village government buildings and the Health Centre. Immediately to the East of Abamang is the second-largest section of Waramadong, Wayawa’pai, and about 3 miles to the West, separated by the last bit of the Kamarang road, lie the two communities of Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai.

The distribution of Akawaio speakers interviewed according to neighbourhood is given in Table 5.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section (1)</th>
<th>Enemorojipai</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section (2)</td>
<td>Samawa’pai</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section (3)</td>
<td>Abamang</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section (4)</td>
<td>Wayawa’pai</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.1 Distribution of Akawaio speakers interviewed in 1999**

The preliminary findings of the data showed that the speakers from the other three section, Enemoroji’pai, Samawa’pai and Wayawa’pai, presented an alarming degree of linguistic variation from the variety the author grew up speaking in Abamang. Due to the large volume of recorded material, portions were transcribed from only 10 of the 40 interviews, then these transcriptions were entered into the computer, glossed and
analysed using the Shoebox program. Given that the speakers from Abamang represented little variation from the author's own speech, all 10 speakers chosen for further study were from Enemoroji’pai (3), Samawa’pai (2), and Wayawa’pai (5). The social category information for these 10 speakers is presented in Table 5.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enemoroji’pai</th>
<th>Samawa’pai</th>
<th>Wayawa’pai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaker</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2 Age and sex of speakers, and sections of the village where they reside.

During the process of analysis, 270 new Akawaio words presented themselves in the text data which were all unfamiliar to the researcher, herself a native speaker of Akawaio. Some of these also presented themselves during the interviews, prompting on the spot questions about what they meant. These were then recorded in a field notebook, in addition to capturing them on tape.

In November, 2001, the researcher made a second trip to Waramadong village for two weeks. The aim was to record more speech genres such as narratives and spontaneous conversations. Additionally, the task was to field test speaker familiarity with the 71 of the Akawaio words that the author had not recognized, and to elicit
Akawaio translations of 46 English sentences designed to highlight lexical, phonological and grammatical differences observed in the 1999 data. Fifteen Akawaio speakers were interviewed in 2001, of whom eight participated in the elicitation of the answers to the 46 English sentences. These eight were selected to represent a range of ages and distribution in the four sections of Waramadong, and four of the eight were not among the original 40 interviewees because these four had not been available during the first visit. Generally the methods for the collection of data both in 1999 and 2001 represented recorded spontaneous conversations (both on tape and as written notes in a field book) and recorded interviews with a questionnaire that combined translation tasks with questions like ‘Would you say……?’ or ‘Who would say……?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enemoroji'pai Speaker</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Samawa'pai Speaker</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Abamang Speaker</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Wayawa'pai Speaker</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3 Age, sex and sections of the village for second group of speakers.

The remainder of this chapter presents the actual observed variation in Akawaio speech patterns, and also how the variation correlates with neighbourhood of residence in Waramadong. Section 5.5 presents an insider’s description of the social networks of these Waramadong neighbourhoods. Section 5.5 concludes by suggesting that the notions of Speech Community and Community of Practice are useful for characterizing the patterns
of interaction in Waramadong that encourage the continued variation in Akawaio speech patterns.

The linguistic variation observed in the 1999 texts ran the gamut from phonology through lexicon to grammar. The translation task in the questionnaire was primarily designed to generate examples of phonological and grammatical variation, whereas the questions about "Would you say...?" and "Who would say ...?" were designed to elicit speaker reaction to forms produced in all four sections of the village. Results to the questions about "Who would say...?" and "Would you say...?", actual examples produced by the speakers, are divided into three sections, illustrating variation in pronunciation (section 5.1), vocabulary (section 5.2) and grammar (section 5.3).

5.1 Pronunciation Differences

The differences in pronunciation divide into two categories: generalized patterns and patterns found only with selected lexical items. Since one purpose of this study will be to identify which dialects are more conservative and which more innovative, and since variation can almost always be understood best as change in progress, Table 5.4 is offered, showing the table of Proto-Carib phonemes from Girard (1971):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>ö</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4 Proto-Carib Phoneme Inventory
Table 5.5 shows a table of the phones encountered in the author’s own dialect of Akawaio, from Abamang. As can be seen, Abamang Akawaio has greatly elaborated the inventory of consonants. The changes can be categorized in three major groups: palatalization, voicing, and debuccalization. Palatalization created š, šʃ and ŋ; voicing created b, d, g, z, ʒ, and dʒ; debuccalization created ʔ and ŋ (Gildea 2001). Makushi and Pemón dialects show both the palatalization and the debuccalization, but not the voicing. In vowels, an apparently unconditioned split occurred in which many *o > ə in the Venezuelan branch of the Cariban family (Gildea 2001). In a more recent second split, a subset of *e > ε and *o > ə.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>ŋ</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5 Inventory of Phones in Abamang Akawaio

Table 5.6 shows the current orthography used for Abamang Akawaio, which conservatively indicates nearly all of the phonetic differences from Table 5.5. The examples throughout the rest of Section 2 use this orthography, rather than the IPA, except in some cases where a particular phone is highlighted.
The distribution of these phones is complicated, and it is possible to have different analyses of "underlying form", some more abstract, some more closely identified with surface form. The important allophonic patterns to note are (i) that [3] and [d3] are in free variation, and hence are represented by the same orthographic symbol, j, and (ii), that the actual pronunciation of the glottal stop may vary between a full glottal occlusion, gemination of a following voiceless obstruent, and omission (leaving only the otherwise anomalous intervocalic voiceless obstruent to indicate its presence). The orthography does not distinguish between these pronunciations, and it might even be argued that in more frequent lexical items, the glottal stop should no longer be indicated. No detailed analysis of Akawaio phonology has been published (although see Edwards 1978a-b), and it is outside the scope of this paper, since the actual pronunciation is more relevant for understanding dialectal variation. The generalized patterns, discussed in section 5.1.1, are actually variations in how far the innovations in consonant inventory have progressed, one related to palatalization and manner, the other to voicing. The patterns linked to specific morphemes, discussed in section 5.1.2, are phonological innovations that only show up in certain words. In future research, it may be possible to find other examples of these sorts of changes, so these patterns may turn out to be more general as well.
5.1.1. Generalized patterns: [tʃ] ~ [ʃ]; Intervocalic Post Sonorant Voicing

Across the lexicon and morphology of the four dialects, Wayawa’pai shows two differences when compared to the other three dialects: (i) where the other three show a voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ], Wayawa’pai shows a voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] (1); (ii) where the other three show intervocalic voicing of all obstruents, Wayawa’pai shows no voicing (2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayawa’pai</th>
<th>Abamang/Enemoroji’pai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>[ʃ] ~ [tʃ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>[p, t, k, s, tʃ] ~ [b, d, g, z, dʒ] / V___V; Nasal___V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) [tʃ] ~ [ʃ]

a. Wayawa’pai     b. Abamang/Enemoroji’pai

tʃa    tʃa    'teacher'
pʃai’tʃa    pʃai’tʃa    'shaman'
iʃe    i’tʃe    'to want it‘ (i-’ʃe ‘3-Desid’)

It is impossible to determine whether [ʃ] or [tʃ] is more innovative, since neither are attested (except as allophones) in either Makushi and Pemón. In the three dialects, [ʒ] and [dʒ] are in free variation, like [tʃ]/[ʃ], conditioned by proximity to /i/. In Wayawa’pai, all three of these correspond to [ʃ], occasionally in free variation with [tʃ]. For the borrowing, it is clear that Wayawa’pai speakers changed the English [tʃ] to [ʃ].

(2) Voicing / V___V; Nasal___V
Voiced obstruents are clearly innovative: most Carib languages don't have a voicing contrast for obstruents, and both Pemón and Makushi show the same lack of voicing that we see in Wayawa'pai. As is shown in section 3, Wayawa'pai speakers have extensive contact with Makushi speakers, so it is possible that the lack of voicing in Wayawa'pai is not conservative, but was borrowed back under the influence of their contact with Makushi speakers. But we would not expect this to be so consistent if it were just a property of borrowed words. The Samawa'pai and Enemoroji'pai speakers have a lot of contact with Pemón speakers, and their variety of Akawaio shows some inconsistency, usually voicing, but not always.

5.1.2 Patterns Linked to Specific Morphemes and Lexical Items

Speakers from Wayawa'pai appear to be conservative in maintaining morpheme-initial /y/ and word-internal unstressed /i, ˈi/, whereas speakers from Enemoroji'pai and Samawa'pai only maintain them sometimes and they are consistently lost for speakers from Abamang.
(3) *y > y in Wayawa'pai; *y > Ø in the others

a. Wayawa'pai
   yaka
   yurō
   w-e'-yaik
   yawo-ng
   yamōk

b. Abamang/Enemoroji'pai/Samawa'pai
   aka
   urō
   0-e'-aik
   awo-ng
   amōk
   'to (an open place)'
   '1Sg'
   '1Sa-be-Pres'
   'in-Nominalizer'\(^2\)
   'Plural'

(4) *i, *i > Ø / ŋ, m __'pi

a. Wayawa'pai
   efi'-pi
   asht'-kō
   i-w-e'numi'-pi
   tamii'pi

b. Abamang/Enemoroji'pai/Samawa'pai
   eji'-pi / efi'-pi
   adji'kō / af'-kō
   y-e'num'-pi
   dam'pi
   'be-Past'
   'come-Imperative'
   '3-Sa-sleep-Past ~ 3-sleep-Past'
   'husband'

5.2 Lexical Variation

In reviewing the recorded texts, a number of lexical items were different beyond both the regular and irregular sound changes listed in the previous sections. In some, the roots are completely different; in others, different pieces of morphology attached to the roots in derivational processes. It is a goal of future work to make as exhaustive a list as possible of words that vary between dialects, and then to compare this list with Makushi and Pemóng dictionaries. Some borrowings are obvious, such as Samawa'pai pemong-tong, which is exactly the Pemóng word for 'people', and taure mō, which is exactly how the Pemóng say 'say it like that'. Some other good candidates for borrowings are the

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\(^2\) One Samawa'pai speaker consistently used the term rawong in both narrative speech and conversation, but other Samawapai speakers did not confirm this as a feature of their way of speaking.
Samawa'pai words with intervocalic voiceless obstruents, like *aka* 'pick (fruits)', *rōkeng* 'only' and *miserō* 'this one', where we would expect voiced obstruents like Abamang *aga*, *rōgeng*, and *pizerō*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Waramadong Neighborhoods</th>
<th>Abamang</th>
<th>Wayawa'pai</th>
<th>Samawa'pai</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ewangono'ma</td>
<td>ewangtōba</td>
<td>ewangama</td>
<td>‘harass O’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ene</td>
<td>Era'ma</td>
<td>ere'ma</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sengyaik</td>
<td>sera'mayaik</td>
<td>seneyaik</td>
<td>‘I am seeing’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emiyeae</td>
<td>emiya</td>
<td>enya</td>
<td>‘hand’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enzadi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'numi'pi</td>
<td>we'numi'pi</td>
<td>we'nōmī'pö</td>
<td>‘I slept’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aga</td>
<td>yaka</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>‘pick (fruits)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urō</td>
<td>yurō</td>
<td>yurōto</td>
<td>‘1Sg’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awong</td>
<td>yawong</td>
<td>rawong</td>
<td>‘within’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwo'tīmba</td>
<td>iwo'tīmba</td>
<td>iwo'nīamba</td>
<td>‘provide O with meat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'ma'ka</td>
<td>i'ma'ka</td>
<td>are'ka</td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piyai'chang</td>
<td>piyai'chang</td>
<td>piya'sang</td>
<td>‘shaman’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dam'pi</td>
<td>wītami'pi</td>
<td>utami'pi</td>
<td>‘my husband’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta mō</td>
<td>ta mōrö</td>
<td>taure mō</td>
<td>‘say that’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'izerō</td>
<td>picherō</td>
<td>miserō</td>
<td>‘this. one’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rōgeng</td>
<td>nōgeng</td>
<td>rōkeng</td>
<td>‘only’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapong amōk</td>
<td>kapong yamōk</td>
<td>pemong tong</td>
<td>‘people’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne'tai</td>
<td>niwē'tai</td>
<td>ne'tai</td>
<td>‘it was’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ejī'pi</td>
<td>wechi'pi</td>
<td>ejī'pi</td>
<td>‘I was’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biga</td>
<td>pika</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>‘pick’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>büga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azaurogī</td>
<td>asōurōma</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>??</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7 Lexical variation between Abamang, Wayawa'pai and Samawa'pai

In 2001, responses were collected from the eight speakers (2 from each neighbourhood) to 71 of the 270 words from the 1999 trip that the author did not recognize. All eight of the speakers that were interviewed in 2001 were asked if they would use each of these 71 words. If they said no, they were asked if they had ever heard the word before, and if so, who they thought would use the word. The neighbourhoods
showed really different patterns, with Abamang alone using 34 of the words, Wayawa'pai alone using 6 of the words, and neither Enemoroji'pai nor Samawa'pai using any of the words alone (Table 5.7). This pattern suggests that Abamang and Wayawa'pai are the primary sources of innovation in Waramadong, and that each neighbourhood sustains their distinctive vocabulary without the need for support from the other neighbourhoods. It is not surprising that neither Enemoroji'pai nor Samawa'pai has unique vocabulary, since the two neighbourhoods seem to share most distinctive linguistic features.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Abamang</strong></th>
<th><strong>Wayawa'pai</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pogowak</td>
<td>sai'pōga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarorowakong</td>
<td>era'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emebogenak</td>
<td>eneya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ime</td>
<td>e'simikak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'ai</td>
<td>taure barō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'nahuraigang</td>
<td>ta'sa'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebingga</td>
<td>'scatter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agi'nō'pe</td>
<td>'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biju'ka</td>
<td>'I see it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'praiya</td>
<td>'stand up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wijiwiji</td>
<td>'come quickly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibanabanii</td>
<td>'he has said'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro'ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waza</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wendurubai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chibirik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanaburimo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kambarik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanzu'paik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideerek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chiniguy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irōwindō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idanjiri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamijo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edangu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tere'kwabire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēbijai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amiyebu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abō'miira</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'se'ne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeenang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'wi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti'mi'kwai'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.8 Vocabulary in only one neighborhood

When two neighbourhoods combined to share words that other neighbourhoods don't use, only four of the six possible combinations were attested: Enemoroji'pai and Samawa'pai combined for three words, then Abamang combined with each of the other
neighbourhoods for two words each (Table 5.9). While these numbers are very low, if
the patterns hold over a larger sample, none of these results would be surprising:
Enemoroji'pai and Samawa'pai share distinctive words, as if they were a single
community, and each of the other dyads would be a word from Abamang that one
member of a different neighbourhood has picked up due to Abamang's domination.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enemoroji'pai</th>
<th>Enemoroji'pai</th>
<th>Samawa'pai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Samawa'pai</td>
<td>+ Abamang</td>
<td>+ Abamang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ere' ma</td>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>ama'nomi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwamodang</td>
<td>'kill game'</td>
<td>'a beauty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwannori</td>
<td>'eagle (sp)'</td>
<td>mömbö'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nö'keng</td>
<td>'only'</td>
<td>'abandoned farm'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abamang
+ Wayawa'pai

| agaamana | 'hunter' |
| diundazak | 'traveller from afar' |

Table 5.9 Vocabulary used in only two neighborhoods

When three neighbourhoods combined to use a word, one neighbourhood gets
excluded. Interestingly, Abamang is excluded the most (six times), with Wayawa'pai
excluded four times and Samawa'pai excluded once (Table 5.10). The words that exclude
Abamang are probably conservative, with Abamang now using innovative words for
these same meanings. In Table 5.8, Abamang shows unique words as synonyms for five
of the six words they don't share with the other three neighbourhoods. The parallel
expectation would be for the four words that exclude Wayawa'pai to have synonyms in
the words exclusive to Wayawa'pai in Table 5.8, but only one shows such a synonym.

These will need to be checked in future research. The one word that excludes Samawa'pai is an anomaly, and it also will be further checked in future research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enemoroji'pai</th>
<th>Enemoroji'pai</th>
<th>Enemoroji'pai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Samawa'pai</td>
<td>+ Samawa'pai</td>
<td>+ Abamang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Abamang</td>
<td>+ Wayawa'pai</td>
<td>+ Wayawa'pai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ai'piga</em> 'scatter'</td>
<td><em>seneyaik</em> 'I see it'</td>
<td><em>odoga</em> 'hunter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mőjimö</em> 'eagle (sp)'</td>
<td><em>agi'nö</em> 'sticky'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a'kregenak</em> 'sufficient'</td>
<td><em>amaï</em> 'mother'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ējigiri</em> 'tiny'</td>
<td><em>mēmbōta</em> 'abandoned farm'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>amijo</em> 'manioc leaf pepperpot'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tauremō</em> 'it is usually said'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.10 Vocabulary used in three neighbourhoods

For completeness, Table 5.11 gives the list of the eleven words that turned out to be used in all four neighborhoods, many with presumably innovative synonyms in one or more of the lists above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enemoroji'pai + Samawa'pai</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Abamang + Wayawa'pai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>togodogo</em> 'owl'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ebeimang</em> 'bending over'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a'suka</em> 'kiss'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wenu'pö</em> 'tummy'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ewang</em> 'tummy'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iweng</em> '3-belly'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wanabu</em> 'grass growing on one's farm'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>e'kang</em> 'wasp'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>edagu</em> 'saliva'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>inggebra aji'kō</em> 'come quickly'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>teewanaireng</em> 'shapely'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.11 Vocabulary used in all four neighbourhoods.
These findings indicate degree of variation between neighborhoods, including the lack of much variation between Enemoroji'pai and Samawa'pai, and they also show that Abamang is a major source of lexical innovation, at least for these 71 words.

5.3 Grammatical Variation

The grammatical variation seen between different varieties of Akawaio is centred around the two verbal inflectional systems. Following Gildea (1998), the grammar of Akawaio divides easily into two groups, Set I (modern reflexes of the Proto-Carib verbal inflectional system) and Set II/Progressive (modern reflexes of Proto-Carib nominalizations and derived adverbs that have been reanalysed as part of the new main clause inflectional system). Here we see one important area of variation in the Set I system, another in the Set II system, a third that occurs in both systems and a fourth that occurs with imperatives.

5.3.1 Set I: $w- '1Sa' > \emptyset- '1Sa'$ in Abamang/Samawa'pai/Enemoroji'pai

The Set I system consists of a specific set of personal prefixes that co-occur only with Set I TAM and number suffixes; other grammatical facts are summarized in Gildea (1998, ch. 5). Tables 12-13 give a brief inventory of both the Proto-Carib and Akawaio Set I personal prefixes, and Table 14 shows the Akawaio suffixes that uniquely co-occur with these prefixes, along with their Proto-Carib sources, where known (from Gildea 1998.80, modified per. Meira 2000a).
Table 5.12 Proto-Carib Set I Personal Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*t(i)-</td>
<td>w(i)-</td>
<td>u(y)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*m(i)-</td>
<td>m(i)-</td>
<td>a(y)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>*kic(i)-</td>
<td>kic(i)-</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A3O/3S</td>
<td>*n(i)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1A2O</td>
<td>*k(i)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2A1O</td>
<td>*k(i)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.13 Akawaio Set I Personal Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>s-/chi-</td>
<td>w-/Ø-</td>
<td>u(y)-/Ø(y)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>m(i)-</td>
<td>m(i)-</td>
<td>a(y)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A3O/3S</td>
<td>n(i)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1A2O</td>
<td>amōrō s-/chi-; k(V)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2A1O</td>
<td>urō m-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.14 Proto-Carib > Akawaio Set I Verbal Inflections

<p>| | | | |</p>
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</thead>
</table>
| *-ya-ce | > | -yaik ~ -aik | 'Present 1 (direct evidence, certainty, SAP subjects)'
| *-ya-no | > | -yang ~ -ang | 'Present 2 (indirect evidence, uncertainty, 3rd p. subjects)'
| *-i | > | -i | 'Past 1 (immediate)'
| *?? | > | -dai | 'Past 2 (more distant)'
| *?? | > | -ik | 'Conditional'|

The Akawaio Set I system is greatly impoverished compared to the rich systems still encountered in languages like Kari'na (a.k.a. Carib, cf. Hoff 1968), Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985) and Tiriyó (Meira 1999). The Akawaio personal prefix system has lost the S_A/S_O distinction, and the distinctive 1+2 personal prefixes have also disappeared, replaced by pronouns used in combination with the third person prefix n(i)-.
Also gone are the Proto-Carib Set I aspectual distinctions, further specification of distance in the past, and the future inflections (cf. Gildea 1998.96-103 for a summary of these distinctions in proto-Carib). For this paper, the primary interest is a consistent variation in the 1S_A prefix: Wayawa'pai $w_-$, Abamang/Enemoroji'pai $\emptyset$ -(5) Wayawa'pai $w_-'1S_A'$ > Abamang/Enemoroji'pai/Samawa'pai $\emptyset$ -'1S_A' 

a. Wayawa'pai
   $w_-'e'nun-dai$
   $\emptyset_-'e'nun-dai$
   (1S_A-sleep-Past2)
   'I slept'  
   b. Abamang/Enemoroji'pai/Samawa'pai
   $w_-'e'-'pö'-tai$
   $\emptyset_-'e'-'pö'-tai$
   (1S_A-be-Iter-Past2)
   'I used to be'  
   $w_-'e'-'yaik$
   $\emptyset_-'e'-'aik$
   (1S_A-be-Pres1)
   'I am'  
   $w_-'e'-'tai$
   $\emptyset_-'e'-'tai$
   (1S_A-be-Past2)
   'I was' 

(6) a. Wayawa'pai
   $a'kwak$ tau $w_-'e'nung-pö' -tai$
   hammock in 1S_A-sleep -Iter-Past2
   'I used to sleep in a hammock.'  

b. Abamang/ Enemoroji'pai/Samawa'pai
   $a'kwak$ tau $\emptyset_-'e'nung-bö' -tai$
   hammock in 1S_A-sleep -Iter-Past2
   'I used to sleep in a hammock.' 

5.3.2 Set II $w_-'S_A'$ disappears in Abamang/Enemoroji'pai

In Proto-Carib (and nearly all modern Cariban languages), nominalizations are possessed by the notional absolutive of the nominalized verb, creating a series of possessive cum absolutive prefixes on nominalized verbs. Certain nominalizations could not be possessed, leading to a breakdown of the absolutive prefix pattern with those verb forms. The Split S system found in Set I person-marking also was marked in nominalized intransitive verbs, with a prefix $^*w_-'S_A'$ that occurred between the possessive prefix and the verb stem. In other Cariban languages, this prefix has the
following distribution (Meira 2000b: 204-207; Gildea 1994, 1998:89). It marks the subset of intransitive verbs that are inherently S\textsubscript{A} or that are created by adding the detransitive prefix to a transitive verb root. It only co-occurs with the following suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix Type</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action Nominalizer</td>
<td>*rī</td>
<td>Present'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient/Action Nominalizer</td>
<td>*tīpī</td>
<td>'Past'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient Nominalizer</td>
<td>*-sapo</td>
<td>'Perfect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>*t-V-ce&gt; Ak. t-V-ce-se</td>
<td>'Participle?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalized Participle</td>
<td>*t-V-ce-mī &gt; Ak. t-V-zeng/-seng</td>
<td>Nominalization'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of Motion</td>
<td>*-ce</td>
<td>'Purpose of Motion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; Ak. -ik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the first three of these suffixes now mark main clause verbal TAM distinctions in Akawaio. In all Akawaio dialects, the w- is preserved before consonant-initial intransitive roots when prefixed with one of 4 vowel-final possessive/absolutive prefixes:

(6) \( \emptyset \text{-dō-} \text{-} \) 'I go' \( \text{nyā-u-} \text{-dō-} \text{-} \) 'we go'
    a-u-dō-Ø 'you go' a-u-dō-Ø-gong 'y'all go'
    i-dō-Ø 'it goes' iī-u-dō-Ø 'he(refl)goes'

Since the w- is lost in all other environments in Enemoroji'pai, Samawa'pai and Abamang Akawaio, it might be best to consider the u in these examples to be just part of allomorphy in the personal prefixes. However, the w- remains strong in many environments in Wayawa'pai Akawaio, including occurring on the verb between a full NP possessor/absolutive and the verb:
(7) Wayawa'pai w- 'S\textsubscript{A}' > Enemoroji'pai/Samawa'pai/Abamang \(\emptyset\)-

a. Wayawa'pai
\[ u-w-e'numi-'pi \quad 0-e'numi-'pi \quad (1-[S\textsubscript{A}]-sleep-Past) \quad 'I slept' \]
\[ i-w-e'numi-'pi \quad y-e'numi-'pi \quad (3-[S\textsubscript{A}]-sleep-Past) \quad 'he slept' \]
\[ \emptyset-wu-s-enne-'pi \quad \emptyset-z-enne-'pi \quad (1-[S\textsubscript{A}]-Refl-see-Past) 'I saw myself' \]
\[ \emptyset-w-eshi-0 \quad \emptyset-eji-0 \quad (1-[S\textsubscript{A}]-be-Pres) \quad 'I am' \]

b. Enemoroji'pai/Samawa'pai/Abamang
\[ kir\ddot{o} \quad w-e'nung-sak \quad n- e' -tai \quad 3Sg.Anim \_S\textsubscript{A}*-sleep-Perf 3S-be-Past2 \quad 'He had slept.' \]

(8) a. Wayawa'pai
\[ kir\ddot{o} \quad w-e'nung-sak \quad n- e' -tai \quad 3Sg.Anim \_S\textsubscript{A}*-sleep-Perf 3S-be-Past2 \quad 'He had slept.' \]

b. Enemoroji'pai/Samawa'pai/Abamang
\[ kir\ddot{o} \quad e'nung-zak \quad n- e' -tai \quad '3Sg.Anim sleep -Perf 3S-be-Past2 \quad 'He had slept.' \]

c. Wayawa'pai
\[ ka'pong yam\ddot{o}k \quad wi-ko'mam\ddot{i}-0 \quad ser\ddot{o} yau \quad \text{person} \quad \text{Pl} \quad _S\textsubscript{A}*-live -Pres this at/in \quad 'People live here.' \]

d. Enemoroji'pai/Samawa'pai/Abamang
\[ ka'pong am\ddot{o}k go'mam\ddot{i}-0 \quad serau \quad \text{person} \quad \text{Pl} \quad \text{live} \quad -Pres this at/in \quad 'People live here.' \]

(8) Presence of w- in various recorded Wayawa'pai texts

a. Speaker 10
\[ piyai'ma \quad we'toomap\ddot{odi}'pi \quad \text{pemongtong} \quad \text{giant} \quad S\textsubscript{A}-DETR-turn.around(tr)-FREQ-PAST \text{person} -PL \]
\[ yewi'tong \quad woi, \quad tok \quad i'ma'ka \quad shi \quad tiya \quad raw\ddot{o}r\ddot{o} \quad \text{yewi-tong woi, tok i'ma'ka ji ti- ya raw\ddot{o}r\ddot{o} \quad house} -PL \quad \text{around 3PL finish(tr) EMPH 3R-ERG before} \]
\quad 'The mountain giant, Piyai'ma, went around the houses of the people several times before he finished them off (killed them).'

b. Speaker 7
\[ nai \quad yak \quad ku \quad kench\ddot{i} \quad mainik \quad wi-t\ddot{odi}'pi \quad \text{nai yak kuru} \quad \text{kenji} \quad \text{mainik} \quad \text{wi-d\ddot{o}-p\ddot{oti} -'pi} \quad \text{where LOC EMPH EMPH that.one} \quad S\textsubscript{A}-go-FREQ-PAST \quad 'Where did that one (what's-his-name) used to go?'} \]
c. Speaker 8
\[ \text{picherö wi'chak wechi'pi mang wítami'pi pe ta mörö} \]
\[ \text{pízerø w-yebi'-sak w-eji'-pi mang u-tampi pe ta mörö} \]
\[ \text{this one SAx-come-PERF SAx-COP-PAST COP 1-husband ATTR say that} \]
\[ \text{‘This one (pointing) had come/came to be my husband.’} \]

e. Speaker 9
\[ \text{zenuba zeröng, sungwarö tìdungdaik,} \]
\[ \text{z- enuba zeröng, sungwa -rø t- dungda-ik,} \]
\[ \text{DETR-teach this.time far.away-EMPH PRTCP-travel-PURP.MOT} \]
\[ \text{borrowes school of arts pe tìwe'seng yau} \]
\[ \text{borrowes school of arts pe t- weji -seng yau} \]
\[ \text{Borrowes School of Arts ATTR PRTCP-COP-ABS.NZR in} \]
\[ \text{‘I am studying, having travelled far away to do this, in a school called the} \]
\[ \text{Borrowes School of Arts.’} \]

5.3.3 Waywa'pai i- '3O.Imperative' > Abamang/Enemoroji'pai Ø-

While it has not been reconstructed to proto-Carib, several other Cariban languages show the prefix i- '3O' on consonant-initial verbs inflected in the imperative. Vowel-initial verbs usually are unmarked, which is often analysed as a prefix Ø- '3O'. In Wayawa'pai, this same pattern of allomorphy is observed on at least one consonant-initial verb, whereas in the other 3 dialects, there is never a third person prefix in the imperative.

(7)a. Wayawa'pai  
\[ i-piika-k \]

b. Enemoroji'pai/Samawa'pai/Abamang  
\[ Ø-biiga-k \]

'3O-pick-Imperative'

5.3.4 Doubling of - põdi 'iterative' in Wayawa’pai

In two examples, one from text and the other from elicitation, speakers from Wayawa'pai doubled the derivational suffix -põdi 'iterative'. This suffix, like many other morphemes on the right edge of verbs, presents a reduced allomorph -pö' when it is followed by one from a certain set of inflectional suffixes (see Gilda 1995 for a
comparative treatment of syllable reduction in other Cariban languages), hence the
doubled form is \(-pō'pō'\) in front of \(-tai\ 'Past 2' (8) and \(-ang\ 'Present2' (9).

(8) a'kwak tau w-e'nung-pō'pō'-tai
hammock in Sₐ-sleep-Iter-Iter-Past2

'I used to sleep in a hammock'

(9) payung be sa'vechi w-echi-'pī nī-ka-pō'pō'-ang ne u- pachi-tong ko
newly.coupled Attr Emph Sₓ-Cop-Past 3S-say-Iter-Iter-present2 each 1-eldersister-Pl Emph

'Each one of my older sisters always said I was newly wed'

This concludes the presentation of the linguistic data. The distinctions between
speakers from Wayawa'pai on the one hand, and E'nomorojipai, Samawa'pai and
Abamang on the other, run through all domains of the language. The distinctions
between Abamang on the one hand and Enemoroji'pai and Samawa'pai on the other are
more limited, primarily seen in vocabulary and secondarily in phonological variation. No
clear distinctions were observed between Enemoroji'pai and Samawa'pai. Section 3
presents the historical background to the settlement of the different sections of
Waramadong and the current social networks and group relationships within each section
to help make sense of these patterns of variation.

3.4 Social tensions and language attitudes in Waramadong

The two main sources of social tension in Waramadong as identified by this study
are both about inclusion in or exclusion from the dominant group: those who go to church
(dominant) versus those who do not (stigmatised) and those who speak Kako-Akawaio
(dominant) versus those who speak other dialects (stigmatised). These two issues are
closely intertwined, as the residents of Abamang are the main powers in the church and are also the speakers of Kako-Akawaio.

Recall that Abamang is also seen as the most educated section of Waramadong, that the various official institutions in Waramadong are all located in Abamang, and that the government functionaries are almost all residents of Abamang. Therefore, residents of Abamang boast about having political power, since (as stated by two speakers from Abamang), without their votes, Waramadong village elections cannot happen and it will cease to be a village. In particular, the Abamang Kako-Akawaio speakers are the leaders in the criticisms of the other groups, including their closest neighbours, the Kukui-Akawaio speakers, for speaking “bad” Akawaio, and additionally of the Samawa’pai and Wayawa’pai residents for their non-Christian lifestyles. They frequently announce that all the other dialects spoken in the village are not "good Akawaio" but the language of ‘those who are lost’ idano‘maza’kong or those that are leading the language astray. This is further substantiated by the response the researcher got whenever she was making a comparison of words or phrases from speakers in the other sections. For instance, when the three variants awong ~ yawong ~ rawong ‘inside (a contained space)’ were cross-checked with Abamang Kako-Akawaio speakers, they dismissed the Wayawa’pai version, yawong, and the Samawa’pai version, rawong, with an agitated ha---ng! (expression of disgust) maing bennō ning mörö ‘that is not a language / word!’

Inside Abamang, the Kukui-Akawaio speakers speak their own dialect only with each other, making the small shift to Kako-Akawaio when speaking with other members of the village. This makes them insiders in the dominant group.
The residents of Samawa’pai and Enemoroji’pai maintain their Pemóng-Akawaio dialect despite pressure to conform to the Kako-Akawaio norms. Although there is tension between the two communities over the issue of religion and lifestyle, as described above, Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai have many closely knit relationships between them. This could be represented as Milroy and Milroy’s ‘dense networks.’ Where there are dense networks, there is strength in interpersonal bonds and community pressure, and members of such networks maintain a distinctive form of speech even when it is severely stigmatised by the society as a whole. Recall that the ‘foreign’ components of Pemóng-Akawaio are also reinforced by the visits that residents of these two neighbourhoods make to their extended families in Venezuela.

The residents at Enemoroji’pai make it clear that they speak a hybrid language consisting of elements of Kamarakoto (Pemóng) and Akawaio, but they seem to be fluent in the Kako-Akawaio and the Kukui-Akawaio dialects as well. However, they care about the influence of these other dialects on their language, and they are not always happy about the way Akawaio is being spoken in Waramadong. They claim that their children are now confused about what is the correct way to speak Akawaio, which is further confused by the struggle to speak the English language, which all Akawaio children now study in school. The Samawa’pai residents feel good about speaking Pemóng-Akawaio but they feel that they are superior to their close neighbours at Enemoroji’pai because they can speak English and they have money. However, the residents of Enemoroji’pai see both qualities as defining peoples who are deviants to the true Akawaio culture. Because the residents of Samawa’pai are more proud of being able to make money and speak English, they are accused of not caring enough about how their children speak. It
could be argued that they care more about their economic livelihoods, and are thus more open to collectively solving problems by presenting them to the village council. In fact, they are open to joining with not just Enemoroji’pai, but the rest of the village, to participate in village-planned self-help activities at Waramadong.

The greatest tension in the village is between the sections of Abamang and Wayawa’pai. From observations and conversations, there is not much inter-marrying between persons in Abamang and Wayawa’pai, while intermarriage is the norm between residents of Abamang and Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai. The reasons given were that the people at Wayawa’pai are backward and speak a backward language, they are not educated, they are not Christians, they eat and drink outlawed meat and traditional alcoholic drinks, they are dangerous bad ritual blowers and Kanaimös (shamanic Amerindian killers or a killer cult), and they have family ties to Makushis who are considered the worst Kanaimös by most Akawaios.

This group is aware that they are not appreciated because they referred to as ‘backward strangers’ who speak a strange language. Some of the speakers interviewed claimed that they were not always included in village activities because they are not Adventist and because they are ‘dangerous strangers.’ This was repeated to the researcher when she went to interview an elderly woman at Wayawa’pai. She was asked (in Akawaio), ‘Why do you want to record me, I do not speak good Akawaio’, Go and talk to those sebîndeyamôk (Seventh-Day-Adventist) who walk around with their paipiři (Bible). She was referring here directly to the residents of Abamang. The elder woman angrily continued and said that there were attempts by the Seventh-Day-Adventist to convert her and her family but has consistently resisted it. She claimed that this was
because she did not want to be associated with such self-righteous people who at the same time were the worst hypocrites. She continued and explained that she and her family did not come to Waramadong of their own free will but that they were brought to Waramadong by the now deceased father of the present village captain Joseph Isaacs, but now even the present captain was reportedly making statements about sending them back to where they belong. It was observed that statements of the kind the elderly woman described continue to create hostility between the residents of Wayawa’pai and Abamang in particular.

In fact, Wayawa’pai is the main location in the village for parties where alcoholic drinks are served. These parties are referred to by the Abamang church-goers as ‘drinking sprees’, and are severely criticized.

Language attitudes are almost a perfect reflection of the rest of the social attitudes. It is not surprising that we find the greatest contrast in Akawaio language variation between the Kwating-Akawaio spoken in Wayawa’pai and the dialects spoken in the rest of Waramadong. There is much greater lexical variation, and also strong grammatical differences. It may be that the Kwating-Akawaio variation is due to influences from Patamuna and Makushi, since Kwating people have been intermarrying with Patamuna and Makushi people — for example, the eldest daughter of one of Joji’s wives was married to a Patamuna and the last two daughters of another wife were both married to Makushi husbands. However, there is need for more comparative work on Makushi and Patamuna (which has never been described at all) before we can conclude that Kwating-Akawaio is indeed different because of Makushi and Patamuna language influences. It is also possible that some aspects of Kwating-Akawaio are conservative,
and that Kako-Akawaio represents the more changed dialect, whether due to contact or to natural historical changes. For example, some of the phonological changes in Kako-Akawaio are clearly more innovative than the phonological changes in Kwating-Akawaio, but it is not clear whether Kwating-Akawaio conserves the older forms, or whether it borrowed back the older forms from contact with Makushi and Patamuna.

Regarding strength of dialects, Kako-Akawaio is the most predominant one within Waramadong, and it is only seriously challenged by the speakers of Kwating-Akawaio in Wayawa'pai. In fact, the population of the Kwating-Akawaio speakers is much older than that of the Kako-Akawaio speakers, and the elders are very influential in raising the children, constantly reinforcing the home language of Kwating-Akawaio and never using either English or other varieties of Akawaio. Thus, Kwating-Akawaio continues to be passed on to the younger generations in Wayawa'pai.

We see here an example of the social dynamic described by Milroy and Milroy (1992), where internal dense social networks help maintain a stigmatized dialect against a hostile majority: residents of Wayawa'pai realize that they are defined as strangers by the rest of Waramadong, particularly Abamang, they are not Christians and do not wish to be converted, and they therefore continue to express themselves in their language, even though it, too, is constantly criticized (as a bad version of the Akawaio language). Nonetheless, a final observation that is interesting has to do with listening to a Kwating-Akawaio speak, when it is realized that some speakers include components of the Kako-Akawaio lexical items such as ene, ji, aga, ne'tai in free variation with the equivalents in their dialect such as eshi, ere'ma, yaka, and niwe'tai. So even though the group as a
whole resists Abamang and Kako-Akawaio norms, some individuals show variation that suggests movement in the direction of Kako-Akawaio.

5.4 Discussion: Social Networks Observed in Waramadong Communities

The linguistic data analysis divides the Akawaio speakers of Waramadong into three major categories, whereas in the residents’ own perceptions of the village, they divide themselves into four major categories (refer to 2.3.2 and 2.3.3). These different conclusions can be reconciled with reference to established notions in sociolinguistics and ethnolinguistics: Speech Communities and Communities of Practice (see Figure 5.2).

The notion of Speech Community has been established since at least Bloomfield (1933.42) as a group of people who interact on a daily basis by means of a common speech, agreeing on what is considered proper and improper usage of the language. Hymes (1974.51) adds that members of a speech community share knowledge of rules governing the conduct and interpretation of speech. This sharing comprises knowledge of at least one form of speech with its patterns of use. But for Hymes, sharing grammatical knowledge of the form speech might take is not sufficient. In addition, a person who is a member of a speech community will know appropriate usage — what to say in particular situations.

Labov (1972.158, 248) sought to emphasize the social and evaluative norms shared by members of a speech community. Thus, he argued that a speech community should not be conceived as a group of speakers who all use the same language forms, but would be better defined as a group who share the same norms with regard to a language,
and who share a set of social attitudes towards it. The norms Labov refers to here are the ways in which members of the community evaluate their own and other people’s speech.

Beyond these criteria for identifying Speech Communities, the work of Lesley and James Milroy (1992) coins the concept of social network, which relates to the community and interpersonal level of social organisation. In this instance, close-knit networks, where members share geographic location, family ties, and work places, tend to exert strong pressures for maintaining group norms. These social networks are held together by consensus from social class, which is based on conflict, division and inequality. Therefore, linguistic variation of pronunciations and grammatical forms occurs between classes, whereas linguistic conformity tends to obtain within social networks.

Milroy and Milroy, following this trend of thought, came up with the notion of ‘Speech network’ to focus on people who have contact with each other on a regular basis. The frequency of these interactions, and thus the strength of these associations varied. They conceived of two types of speech networks: dense networks and weak networks. People in a dense network situation tend to have daily or frequent contact and are linked by more than one type of bond (i.e., they may be related, they may live in the same neighbourhood, they may work together and they may all know each other). Dense networks exert pressure on members to conform to the values that are shared, and because of this, individuals’ behaviors could be easily detected and noted. Because linguistic behavior is one type of behavior that is often monitored and regulated within a dense network situation, members tend to maintain speech norms with very little variation. In contrast, people in weak networks tend to have less regular contact and do
not know all of their daily associates, therefore they do not share values as consistently. Weak networks do not have the mechanisms to enforce conformity on an individual basis, in spite of the societal exertion for conformity through the transmission of cultural values on both conscious and unconscious levels (see also Bonvillian 2000:3). The concept of social network and speech network is useful, since it focuses on actual speakers and explains the mechanisms for control that unify the establishment and maintenance of group norms in small-scale daily interactions (ibid).

Hymes (1974:45) argued that speech community was necessary and primary unit of description as a social rather than a linguistic entity. For Hymes, one starts with a social group and considers the entire organisation of linguistic means within that social group, rather than beginning with some partial, named organisation of linguistic means called language. This is vital because the term "language" can carry with it a confusion of several notions and attributes that have to be sorted out. Without such considerations, there could be a confusion between the notions of speech community and language. In fact, Bloomfield (1933) and Chomsky (1965) appear to equate the two. Thus, field workers attempting to describe "exotic languages" often appear to believe that they are capturing a "speech community" in their descriptions.

This resulted in the notion of speech community becoming redundant, and thus playing no part in research beyond honoring its definitional foundations. When speech community is defined in terms of language alone, it is inadequate since it does not include the boundaries, both within and around communities. For externally, the linguistic and communicative boundaries between communities cannot be defined only in terms of linguistic features (Hymes 1968b). For instance, forms of speech of the same
degree of linguistic difference can be seen as dialects of the same language in one place and simultaneously as distinct languages in another, depending largely on the political and not the linguistic history of the region. When considering the internal bounding of a community it is generally assumed that a natural unity exists among members of a community based solely on identity or commonality of linguistic knowledge. But this is not so since no real community can be defined by mechanical replication of uniformity. Bloomfield and others following him suggested that the quantitative measure of frequency of interaction should instead be the basis for defining a community.

For the purposes of this paper one would like to extrapolate from the foregoing definitions and, drawing on Labov 1966, Hymes 1972, Eckert 1999 and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1999, choose to define speech community as follows:

A single speech community is one where a group of people interact daily by the use of a common speech. It is a common social unit that is the core for explaining the interpretation of contextual, social and shared meanings of language variation. In addition, the social unit is the foundation for constructing social meanings. A speech community is also a situation where a group of people are geographically distributed to give way to no break in intelligibility from one place to another.

Applying these concepts to the situation in Waramadong, we find that the densest social networks observed are internal to each of the four communities. The ties that lead to the densest networks include shared extended family, shared farming plots and hunting/fishing grounds, and shared non-sustenance activities (church, social gatherings, community work parties). While the densest networks always appear inside each
neighbourhood, reasonably dense social networks are also found between Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai, a finding that makes sense of the conclusion that the two together share a single dialect of Akawaio (see Chapter 4).

**Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai**

As described above, both Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai residents have Pemón ancestry, differing mainly in which groups of Akawaios intermarried with their Pemón ancestors, and which groups have provided additional immigrants since then. The two neighbourhoods are related to each other through marriage, they live closer to each other than to the other neighbourhoods, they all know each other and frequently work together to cultivate new farms, build new homes and build boats. The constant daily interaction forms many dense networks (in the sense of Milroy and Milroy) between the members of the two neighbourhoods.

Despite these many links, Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai are also different in several ways. For instance, they own farms in two different areas and cultivate these separately, and they go to different hunting grounds for regular hunting trips. Enemoroji’pai residents are purely traditional farmers and cultivate the cassava and other ground provisions such as dasheen, eddoes, yams and sweet potatoes. They own several farms which are located at Warimabia near the foot hills of the Pipitóbu mountain and surrounding areas. They are also hunters and fishermen and choose to only hunt in the Ekereku area where there is lots of game. This area the Enemoroji’pai families claim were the traditional grounds of some of their ancestors, hence they have claims over it. In contrast, the farms of the Samawa’pai residents are located in selected areas such as
kono’obia, Ekereng and Mírawogo, locations which were the original farmlands of their ancestors. These farmlands are located inland about forty miles from the Kamarang river, down river from Waramadong on the right bank. They hunt in Ekereng and Mírawogo, and fish in ponds and small tributaries of the Kamarang around mírawogo. Both groups might band together to hunt bigger game for village celebrations, usually around Ekereku.

A major difference between the two neighbourhoods is that residents of Samawa’pai are also cash crop farmers, cultivating cash crops such as peanuts, onions and a variety of beans, which they sell to the miner shops at Kamarang, the centre of administration for the Upper Mazaruni District. In addition, one family at Samawa’pai makes extra money by baking and selling home-made wheat bread and coconut buns for sale to the rest of Waramadong. This cash crop enterprise has taught them shared ways of doing things, such as learning collectively modern techniques for cultivating cash crops (as taught to them by the government-appointed agricultural field officer), working out logistics for harvesting and transporting produce from Waramadong to Kamarang for sale, and balancing accounts. This they maintain in order to earn cash to buy other needed things such as outboard motors, a variety of farm tools and food such as the flour, sugar, salt and butter to sustain the bread-making venture. The English language is useful (even essential) for them, since they have constant contact with the buyers of their produce, who are non-Amerindians. These practices help to hold the Samawa’pai community together, at the same time that they distinguish it from all three of the other neighbourhoods in Waramadong. Both Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai residents occasionally sell extra fish and game in other neighbourhoods of Waramadong.
The greater economic activity in Samawa’pai gives Samawa’pai residents greater mobility: they travel to and from Waramadong to Kamarang by using an outboard engine, and walk from Waramadong to Venezuela. There are certain times during the year, such as the summer and Christmas seasons, when they are completely gone. They are only in one place to plant and harvest their farms, then get some money to travel again. Residents of Enemoroji’pai are more stable, although they also travel frequently to visit relatives. In fact, it was noted that most of the families living at Enemoroji’pai have children and other relatives living in Venezuela. One family has four daughters attending school in Caracas.

Also, a major social/religious difference separates Enemoroji’pai from Samawa’pai. Most residents of Enemoroji’pai are Seventh Day Adventists, therefore they return from their farms on week-ends to attend church services on Saturday and do not participate in drinking parties. Samawa’pai residents are not Seventh-day Adventists and do not attend the village church even when they are invited. They separate themselves from time to time to have drinking sprees, which are not popular with residents of Enemoroji’pai and Abamang, who believe that these sprees encourage young people to drink and behave badly.

Despite their differences, residents of Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai tend to present their community issues collectively to the village council. They do not care who is the chief at Waramadong but would like someone from either Enemoroji’pai or Samawa’pai to be represented on the Village Council. They compete at sports as a united front and many times they ask for each other’s assistance to cultivate their farms or build their houses. Due to marriage obligations, residents of both Enemoroji’pai and
Samawa’pai have to visit each other frequently and help each other in this way. In addition, working together for the common good of the community is not so hard in the Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai community because they are so linked to each other by marriage. Despite the close connections, residents of each section like to see themselves as being different from the other.

Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai residents recognize that their language is different from what is spoken in the rest of Waramadong but they are not willing to change it to suit any other form. The Pemóng-Akawaio is passed on to their kids and because they travel frequently to Venezuela to visit relatives, there is continuity in this speech form. None of the elderly people from Enemoroji’pai can speak English and this could be a main reason why Pemong/Akawaio will continue to thrive. Enemoroji’pai has a population that is much older as compared to residents at Samawa’pai, and this may be why there are strong sentiments about being the proud, mixed descendants of Pemong and Akawaio. Their claims extend to the idea that their ancestors settled Waramadong first. Of course, this is yet to be substantiated. Enemoroji’pai residents claimed that they do not wish to align themselves with speakers of the other Akawaio dialects although they can also speak these dialects when necessary.

Although Samawa’pai residents participate in the same way of life as the Enemoroji’pai residents, communicating through the same Pemóng-Akawaio language and having shared values and attitudes towards it, we find that Samawa’pai residents are not so homogeneous a group: in addition to the Pemóng-Akawaio speakers there are also migrants who came from Bartica / Potaro who claim to speak Patamuna/Akawaio, and many residents of Samawa’pai speak English Creole as a part of their economic activity,
and thus they feel superior to Enemoroji’pai residents, who are not English speakers. Therefore, in this way, Samawa’pai speakers engage in a variety of speech communities.

**Abamang**

In Abamang the situation is different. While everyone occupies the same geographical space, there are two different groups of speakers identified as the Kako-Akawaio and the Kukui-Akawaio speakers. The Kako-Akawaio speakers are greater in number, therefore, the Kukui-Akawaio speakers — who are actually just a few families — are forced to communicate via Kako-Akawaio. This is easy for them since the two dialects are mostly similar. The two groups work together to cultivate farms, build houses and boats and assist in other self-help activities in the village, and they have the same basic life style. Given that both sectors speak the same language, live in the same geographical area, are related by marriage and hold similar values and attitudes toward their language, we can conclude that Abamang represents the second ‘speech community’ at Waramadong.

Both the Kukui-Akawaio and the Kako-Akawaio speakers at Abamang are traditional farmers and so they cultivate cassava roots and other ground provisions. The men are craftsmen, hunters and fishermen. However, the sites where they cultivate their farms are located in two different areas. The Kako-Akawaio speakers predominate farmlands in the surrounding rainforest areas located about eight to twenty five miles away from Waramadong, and also farmlands located two to twenty miles down river, in inland areas on the left and right banks of the Kamarang river. Like the Enemoroji’pai and Samawa’pai group, some of the farms of the Kako-Akawaio speakers are located in
areas where their ancestors farmed, such as Wayabidöi, Kwaibaru and Kaugujidöi. The farmlands of the Kukui-Akawaio speakers are located away from the village, also in areas where their ancestors farmed, including Sukabi, Warimabia and Kuzera’töi.

The hunting and fishing grounds of the Kako-Akawaio and Kukui-Akawaio speakers are very different from each other: Kako-Akawaio speakers go seasonally to fish in an area called ‘Kako Head’ which is located up the Kako river, a tributary of the Mazaruni river. This area is clearly chosen because of ancestral rights and because they know the terrain well enough to know what type of game are plentiful during which seasons. They also travel to Membaru, a traditional fishing and hunting grounds. They hunt for big game such as deer and bush cow (tapir) in this area. The Kukui-Akawaio speakers have their fishing and hunting grounds located at Wenamu Head, an area also noted for its richness in gold. Sometimes they travel to the Kukui area when seasonally invited to go hunting and fishing with their relatives who still live there.

In addition to attending to traditional chores, a few of the men and women in Abamang are also wage earners. All of the main institutions are located in Abamang and this is probably why several residents in this area are offered the few jobs in these institutions. Residents of Abamang are employed as teachers: five at the Secondary School and three more at the Primary School, including the Headmistress. The carpenters, secretary and security guards at the secondary school come from Abamang. The present village chief and many of his councillors are from Abamang. In addition, the agricultural field officer, the health worker, and the elders of the church all hail from Abamang. There is also a general store in the centre of Abamang, which buys foodstuff from various people in Abamang and which sells imported foodstuffs and dry goods
(usually brought in by boat from Kamarang, site of the nearest active airstrip and numerous miner shops). If there is smoked meat or fish for sale in the village, it would be sold here.

Conversations with the village chief and with the head teachers at the primary and secondary schools revealed that more children from Abamang attend the schools. They also reported that more young people from this section were either studying in Georgetown on government scholarship or had finished their schooling and held important jobs in Georgetown. In addition, there was a big deal made about the researcher herself, who is studying in the United States, because she is from Abamang. It is no wonder that Abamang is labelled by the other sections as the most educated part of the village.

While the two Abamang groups see themselves as speaking a distinct type of Akawaio, this is no obstacle to the family ties which they have developed through marriage. They are easily unified when they have to make important decisions. Thus, while they define themselves as two distinct groups, this division is only reflective of the different speech forms and the attitudes they both have towards the total assimilation of their language by each other's group. The Kako-Akawaio speakers are particularly paranoid about this, hence the constant pressure on the other groups to speak their brand of Akawaio. The Kukui-Akawaio speakers use their dialect to communicate with their immediate group only since they are often forced to communicate to the Kako-Akawaio speakers by way of the Kako-Akawaio dialect. This explains the pattern observed in Chapter 4, that Kukui-Akawaio speakers are more likely to speak the Kako-Akawaio dialect as opposed to the Kako-Akawaio speakers, who never speak Kukui-Akawaio.
Wayawa'pai

The Akawaios at Wayawa'pai are also traditional subsistence farmers and they cultivate a variety of crops such as sugar cane, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, corn, bananas and plantains and yams, in addition to bitter cassava. They also grow tangerines and coconuts in the surrounding soils near their homes at Wayawa'pai. The farming sites of the Wayawa'pai are located in areas away from the village, in sites that were cultivated by their earlier relatives, such as Kamibaru'pai, Kanau Anînzek, and Parana'pai, are all located down river from Waramadong, on the left and right banks of the Kamarang river. They also farm on lands surrounding the road from Waramadong to Kamarang. Their hunting grounds are near the Waramadong mountains, areas surrounding the Waramadong to Kako road and chose to go back to Ataro/Kwating at least twice a year to hunt for big game.

One family in Wayawa'pai runs a small shop that sells things like flour, sugar, soda, cigarettes, and some clothing. People from Wayawa'pai often walk through Waramadong selling excess fish or game to whoever will buy.

Residents of Wayawa’pai cultivate lots of sugar-cane, which they use to make the traditional drink chigaru eugu and to sweeten their local beers kajiri, sak eugu and pawaru. All of these drinks, when deliberately left to ferment, become alcoholic and are served at drinking sprees. Drinking sprees can materialize during family visits, birthday parties and after the clearing and harvesting of crops from the farm. These days football victories, birthdays, wedding anniversaries and Christmas holidays can spur drinking
sprees. Since Wayawa’pai residents are fond of hosting drinking parties, it is the popular centre for these activities.

Generally, Wayawa’pai residents are unified and present themselves in this way. Also since most families are related to each other, they live the same mode of life holding on to the same values. None of the Wayawa’pai residents belong to the Seventh-Day-Adventist church, which leads to some tension with residents of the more religious neighbourhoods, Enemoroji’pai and Abamang (more on this soon). Because their children attend the Primary and Secondary school, they are sometimes forced to attend the parent/teacher meetings but will seldom participate too much in village decisions. They keep the peace by adhering to whatever is expected of them as villagers of Waramadong, outside of being converted. When they don’t want to participate they stay out of sight.

Therefore we find that most of the Kwating-Akawaio speakers are related to each other and so they know each other, because they also interact with each other on a daily basis. They communicate to each other only through Kwating-Akawaio and like to define themselves as being different from the rest of Waramadong. They are settled in the same geographical area to make sure that a common speech is sustained.

So the village of Waramadong clearly consists of not one single Speech Community, but three: those who speak Pemóng-Akawaio, Kako-Akawaio and Kwating-Akawaio. Two of these three speech communities overlap perfectly with neighbourhoods in Waramadong, Kako-Akawaio with Abamang and Kwating-Akawaio with Wayawa’pai. However, the third speech community, Pemóng-Akawaio, overlaps with two distinct
neighbourhoods, Enemoroji'pai and Samawa'pai. As such, a different concept is necessary to capture the difference between these two communities.

In contrast to speech communities, the concept of *Communities of Practice* refers to a situation where there is a further division of a speech community into personal communities that will provide speakers with meaningful frameworks for solving the problems of their day to day existence. In this situation, people tend to concentrate on their social and linguistic activity. Individuals may engage in a variety of activities, each characterized by its own group of people who participate, and perhaps also by different means of communication. The term communities of practice captures these groups, since it refers to an aggregate of people who come together around some form of enterprise where they can develop shared ways of doing things, ways of speaking, and beliefs and values, which are referred to collectively as ‘practices’ (Lave 1991 & Wenger 1998 as cited in Eckert 1999: 35). This gives the idea that communities of practice tend to define smaller pockets of personal speech communities that exist within a larger single speech community. Clearly this is the case of the Samawa'pai inside the Pemóng-Akawaio speech community: they engage in the cash crop economy, they travel more widely than any of the other groups, and they speak English Creole in both of these activities.

The final question to resolve is the status of the Kukui-Akawaio speakers in Abamang. Clearly they do not form a distinct speech community, as they are in such a great minority and so they conform generally to the Kako-Akawaio speech norms. Nor do they engage in any distinctive separate activities, and as such, they do not qualify as a distinct community of practice. In fact, Kukui-Akawaio speakers and Kako-Akawaio speakers are virtually indistinguishable today: they speak the same language, live in the
same geographical area, are related by marriage and hold similar social values and attitudes towards language. Kukui-Akawaio is thus a submerged subset of Abamang, historically distinctive but on the verge of total assimilation. These conclusions are represented graphically in Figure 5.1.
Figure 5.1 Speech Communities of Akawaio
As we have seen, in Waramadong alone (with a population of 950 people) we have three distinct speech communities and another community of practice. Yet the only mention of this in the previous literature on Akawaio is a passing reference in Adam 1905 (presumably quoting Brett): "The dialects of this language vary considerably, owing to the vast territory over which it is spoken." While linguists will say that phrases like "of course every language has dialects", the results of formal study of the languages do not give any sense of the actual variation that can be encountered. This lack of information can have real consequences for the communities who speak such languages. For example, politicians have arbitrarily divided Amerindian reservations in Guyana into tribal groupings on the basis of the claim that they speak the "same language", even though no scientific study exists to validate these claims. Many of these same politicians refer to Amerindian languages as "dialects", saying that they are not real languages, with sophisticated grammar like English. And the same linguists who would certainly defend the Amerindian languages from such attacks still do not offer them the same recognition and respect as more established languages, in the sense that their work does not really acknowledge and value the variation that exists.

This study provides a small step in the right direction, in hopes of beginning to rectify the arbitrary way in which Amerindian communities have been and are classified. It is an effort to lift the present confusion and mystery, recognizing both their oral and written history as an integral part of the task of describing their languages. As a final note, consider the fact that this study comes out of only one Akawaio community — there are another 6 in the Upper Mazaruni, plus one more in Mabura Great Falls, plus the
various Patamuna communities elsewhere in Guyana and the Ingarikó communities in Brazil that purportedly speak the "same language", plus the many Pemón and Makushi communities that purportedly speak mutually intelligible varieties/languages. An important task for future research will be a survey of linguistic variation throughout the dialect chain(s) in Guyana, eastern Venezuela and northern Brazil. Hopefully, this survey will be informed by the importance of understanding the dynamics of social conflicts, relationships and group solidarity that arise from people's social and linguistic self-definitions.
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Appendix A. Maps and Photos
A1. Map of South America
A2. Map of Guyana Showing Amerindian Lands
A3. Map of Guyana Showing Amerindian Tribes
A4. Map Showing the Location of Waramadong Village on the Kamarang River
A5. Photo No. 1 of Waramadong village

A6. Photo No. 2 of Waramadong village
VOLUME II
ZAURONÖDOK AGAWAYO YAU: VARIANTS OF AKAWAIO SPOKEN AT WARAMADONG

by

DESREY CLEMENTINE CAESAR-FOX
Appendix B: Text
Part I. Traditional Stories

1. EW Kanaimō

ewaik uró nok ya yauro'kabōdi'pī idodo bök
ewaik u- rō nok ya y- auro'ka -bōdi -'pī idodo pōk
yes 1- Emph grandmother Erg 1- tell -Iter -Past killer about
Prtc1? Pers-Prtc1 N P Pers-Vtr -Asp -T/A2 N P

'Yes, my grandmother used to tell me about 'idodo' (Amerindian killer)' (EW Kanaimō 001)

serawong gong rō genik idodo amok
serau -ng gong rō genik idodo amok
here -Nzr Pl Emph specifically killer Pl
Adv -Nzr sfx Prtc1 Prtc1 N Num

'Idodos are really from here,' (EW Kanaimō 002)

serōrō pada yaurō te'sang
serō -rō pada yau -rō t- eji -zang
this -Emph place Loc -Emph Adv- be -Pl.Nzr
Pro -Prtc1 N P -Prtc1? - V -Nzr

'They are really ones who are right from this place.' (EW Kanaimō 003)

e'tane ka'pong amök ya nörö da
e'tane ka'pong amök ya nörö ta
but person Pl Erg also say
PRTC1? N Num P Adv? Vtr

'but people also say' (EW Kanaimō 004)

suwarō idodo be eejī beng ta dok ya
suwarō idodo be a- eji beng ta tok ya
unmotivatedly killer like 2- be Neg say 3Pl Erg
Adv N P Pers- V Neg Vtr Pro P

'you do not become an idodo (killer) suddenly/for no reason,' they say. (EW Kanaimō 005)

murang aino be eejī a'tai
murang yai -no pe a- eji a'tai
charm through -Nzr like 2- be if
N P -Nzr P Pers- V Conj?

'Particularly if you are like one who uses (goes through) the charm murang' (EW Kanaimō 006)

ti'tuik prarō za'ne yuzmaning
t- i'tu -ze bra -rō za'ne yuzma -ning
Adv- know -Prtc1 Neg -Emph exactly use -A.Nzr
?- Vtr -Vder Neg -Prtc1 Prtc1 Vtr -Nzr
be eeji a'tai
pe a- eeji a'tai
like 2- be if
P Pers V Conj?

'or if you are like one who uses unselected ones (i.e. any old charm)'. (EW Kanaimo 007)

zari murani, maiburi murani, torong murani
sari murani maiburi murani torong murani
red.brocket.deer charm tapir charm bird charm
N N N N N

'such as deer charm, tapir charm or bird charm' (EW Kanaimo 008)

ti'tuik prarö murang eji a'tai
t- i'tu -ze bra -rō murang eji a'tai
Adv know -Prtp1 Neg -Emph charm be if
?- Vtr -Vder Neg -Prtcl N Vintr Conj?

'if there are all types of different (unselected, arbitrary, unknown, undifferentiated) charm' (EW Kanaimo 009)

idodo be ara'tōiya ta dok ya
idodo pe ara'tō -i -ya ta tok ya
killer like transform -3 -Erg say 3Pl Erg
N P Vtr -Pers -Agr Vtr Pro P

'It can turn you into an idodo' they say' (EW Kanaimo 010)

mōrō eji a'nek pe kuru
mōrō eji a'nek pe kuru
that be hot like Emph
Dem V N P Prtcl

' That will be very hot' (EW Kanaimo 011)

idodo eji ka'pong amōk chi wōnōiya na'nek
idodo eji ka'pong amōk ji wōnō -i -ya nai -nek
killer be person Pl Emph kill -3 -Erg 3.be.Pres -Rel
N V N Num Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr Vintr -Rel

Idodo is a people killer; this is why he's killing people. (EW Kanaimo 011a)

nigabō'ang ne tok ko
n- ga -bōdī -ang ne tok ko
3S- say -Iter -Pres particularly 3Pl Emph
Pers Vintr -Asp -T/Al Prtcl Pro Prtcl

'so they (experts on this killer) say' (EW Kanaimo 012)

maiburi egedong kuru maiburi zari
maiburi ege -dong kuru maiburi sari
tapir big -Pl Emph tapir red.brocket.deer
N N Nsfx Prtcl N N
murunā na'nek
murunā nai -nek
charm 3.be.Pres -Rel
N Vintr -Rel

'You see those charms of the big tapir and the deer' (EW Kanaimô 013)

turōnna' tai ondimang be ka'pong dōzak a'tai ta dok ya
sometimes hunter like person go -Perf when say 3Pl Erg
Adv N P N Vintr -T/A2 Conj? Vtr Pro P

'sometimes when a person goes to hunt,' they say. (EW Kanaimô 014)

mōro ji murang ji durumi
that Emph charm Emph play
Dem Prtc1 N Prtc1 Vintr

'That charm, will start to whistle' (EW Kanaimô 015)

nīgabō'ang ne tok ko
n- say -bōdī -ang ne tok ko
3S- say -Iter -Pres particularly 3Pl Emph
Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 Prtc1 Pro Prtc1

'So they constantly say' (EW Kanaimô 016)

wiishik taiya ji mōro
whistle say -i -ya ji mōro
SW Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtc1 Prtc1?

'It will then whistle “wiishik”' (EW Kanaimô 017)

oroioroi berō diurumi
little.tinamou like -Emph 3- whistle
N P -Prtc1 Pers- Vintr

'or it will whistle like the mam (little tinamou)' (EW Kanaimô 018)

mōro boro enda taiya ji mōro
that via see -go.Imp say -3 -Erg Emph A.I.? Dem P V -Imper Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtc1?

'go around that way, it is saying that' (EW Kanaimô 019)

amōro genik auro'kagabiya
amōro genik auro'ka -gabī -i -ya
2Sg specifically tell -Cmpltv -3 -Erg
Pro Prtc1 Vtr -Asp -Pers -Agr

'It is already telling you' (EW Kanaimô 020)
mōraīrō ok mang taiya
mōraīrō ok mang ta -i -ya
over.there game 3.be.Pres say -3 -Erg
Adv N Cop Vtr -Pers -Agr

'There is game over there it is saying.' (EW Kanaimō 021)

audō bioirōk
a- tō i- boi -rō -k
2- go 3- near -Emph -Style
Pers- Vintr Pers- P -Prtcl -?

'then you go near/close to it (the game)' (EW Kanaimō 022)

enari'kenak ek pe eeji a'tai
enari'ke -nak ek pe a- eeji a'tai
frightened -Nzr Hab like 2- be if
Adv -Nzr Prtcl P Pers- V Conj?

'If you are one that is always frighten or one who is easily scared.'
(EW Kanaimō 023)

aiwanok pe rō eediibōdī
a- iwanok pe rō a- eedi -bōdī
2- possession like Emph 2- fear -Iter
Pers- N P Prtcl Pers- Vintr -Asp

emabu'tōiya ji
emabu'tō -i -ya ji
cause -3 -Erg Emph
Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl

'It will cause you to frighten yourself'(EW Kanaimō 024)

mōrōg ji amōrō enari'numī za'ne ji
mōrō ke ji amōrō enari'numī sa'ne ji
that Instr Emph 2Sg fear Emph Emph
Dem P Prtcl Pro Vintr Prtcl Prtcl

'this is why you are really going to be afraid' (EW Kanaimō 025)

eborauya ji ok eborauya
eboro -au -ya ji ok eboro -au -ya
find -2 -Erg Emph game find -2 -Erg
Vtr -Pers -Erg Prtcl N Vtr -Pers -Agr

'well, you will find the game' (EW Kanaimō 026)

mōrau zari eborauya
mōrau sari eboro -au -ya
there red.brocket.deer find -2 -Erg
Adv N Vtr -Pers -Agr

'you will find the deer' (EW Kanaimō 027)
tuu! iwōgabuya

'tuu! you will then kill it' (EW Kanaimō 028)

e'tane, mōrō boro enda  tasai'ya, idurumbōdīut that via go.imper say -perf -3 -erg 3- whistle -iter
PRTCL? Dem P VImpet Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Pers- Vintr -Asp

bōk enari'ke'pe  eeji  a'tai, eenna'pozak  a'tai
from frightened -attr 2- be if 2- return -perf if
P N -Azr Pers- V Conj? Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Conj?

'm but if you do not obey what 'it' said about going a particular way
for the hunt, and if you are afraid of its whistling and you decide to
return home; (EW Kanaimō 029)

mōrōrō  eebaranđōiya
that -emph 2- cause.trouble -3 -erg
Dem -Prtrcl Pers- Vtr -Pers -Agr

'well then, it will get you into serious trouble' (EW Kanaimō 030)

awa'ki'pōdīiya

a- wa'kidī -bōdī -i -ya ji
2- block -iter -3 -erg emph
Pers- Vtr -Asp -Pers -Agr Prtrcl

'It will keep blocking your path frequently while you are on your
way home' (EW Kanaimō 031)

mōrōrō  era'tō idodo  muranī be  ji  ji
that -emph turn killer charm like 3- be emph
Dem -Prtrcl Vintr N N P Pers- Vintr Prtrcl

'well then, the same game charm would backfire and become the
killer idodo's charm'. (EW Kanaimō 032)

mōrō era'tō abonggauya  bra sa'ne  ji
that turn take.hunting -2 -erg neg emph emph
Dem Vintr Vtr -Pers -Agr neg Prtrcl Prtrcl

That will turn [on you, because] you are not taking it regularly to
game hunt.' (EW Kanaimō 033)
While it want to eat' (EW Kanaimo 034)

'murang bona tinonggaseng
murang pona t- nongga -zeng ok pung
charm onto Adv- leave -Abs.Nzr game meat
N P ?- Vtr -Nzr N N

'that is why the meat is to be left on top of the charm [after a hunt].' (EW Kanaimo 035)

'nigadai ka'pong amok ya yauro'ka'pi
n- ka -dai ka'pong amok ya y- auro'ka -'pi
3S- say -Past person Pl Erg 1- tell -Past
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 N Num P Pers- Vtr -T/A2

'So the people told me'. (EW Kanaimo 036)

'ok pona tinonggaseng mörö, ok tinonggaseng mörö
ok pona t- nongga -zeng mörö ok t- nongga -zeng mörö
game to Adv- leave -Abs.Nzr that game Adv- leave -Abs.Nzr that
N P ?- Vtr -Nzr Dem N ?- Vtr -Nzr Dem

'the charm must really be put on the flesh of the game, it must
really be put there'. (EW Kanaimo 037)

mörö murang bona nigadai ne tok ko
mörö murang pona n- ka -dai ne tok ko
that charm onto 3S- say -Past particularly 3Pl Emph
Dem N P Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtc1 Pro Prtc1

'it must be put there, so they told me'. (EW Kanaimo 038)

echi rö ganang migi önik
eji rö kanang migi önik
be Emph Chrctrstc Hes what
V Prtc1 N Prtc1 WH

tugaik keng ezagauya mö
t- ka -ze keng ezagî -au -ya mörö
Adv- say -Prtcpl Uncert name -2 -Erg Fut
?- Vintr -Vder PRTC1 Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtc1?

hesitation, 'I do not know what you will call it'. (EW Kanaimo 039)

'boïdorî dauya rö
poidori ta -u -ya rö
servant say -1 -Erg Emph
N Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtc1

'Maybe I will just call it (the charm), my servant' (EW Kanaimo 040)
dongbai  ganang  esabonggangbai
dō  -nnō  -bai  kanang  e'-  abongga  -nnō  -bai
Emph  -1+2S  -Hort  again  Detr-  take.hunting  -1+2S  -Hort
Prtcl  -Pers  -??  Adv?  Intr-  Vtr  -Pers  -??

tauya  ibōk
ta  -u  -ya  i-  bōk
say  -1  -Erg  3-  to
Vtr  -Pers  -Agr  Pers-  P

'Or I would say to it, let us go game-hunting again' (EW Kanaimo 041)

aunennai'pōdī  audō  ji
a-  z-  ennai'  -bōdī  a-  tō  ji
2-  Detr-  do.nose.ritual  -Iter  2-  go  Emph
Pers-  Intr-  Vtr  -Asp  Pers-  Vintr  Prtcl

'You then perform a nasal ritual and then go off to hunt' (EW Kanaimo 042)

ok  ebodokauya  berō  ji
ok  eboro  -dok  -au  -ya  pe  -rō  ji
game  find  -Put  -2  -Erg  like  -Emph  Emph
N  Vtr  -T/A2  -Pers  -Agr  P  -Prtcl  Prtcl

'Then you must find game' (EW Kanaimo 043)

auye'sak  a'tai  tagī'pō'sek  murang
a-  yebī  -zak  a'tai  t-  agīdī  -bōdī  -ze  -k  murang
2-  come  -Perf  when  Adv-  cut  -Iter  -Prtcpl  -Style  charm
Pers-  Vint  -T/A2  Conj?  ?',  Vtr  -Asp  -Vder  '-',  N

bôna  inonggaauya,  nigadaine  tok ko
pona  i-  nongga  -au  -ya  n-  ka  -dai  -ne  tok  ko
onto  3-  leave  -2  -Erg  3S-  say  -Past  -Emph  3Pl  Emph
P  Pers-  Vtr  -Pers  -Agr  Pers-  Vintr  -T/A1  -Prtcl  Pro  Prtcl

'When you have returned from the hunt, you have to cut the game into pieces then place it on the charm.' (EW Kanaimo 044)

mōrō  murang  yek  pona
mōrō  murang  yek  pona
that  charm  plant  to
Dem  N  N  P

'You must put it on the charm plant' (EW Kanaimo 045)

yenda'na  ibōk  nigabō'ang  dok
y-  enda'na  i-  pōk  n-  ka  -bōdī  -ang  tok
3-  eat  3-  WRT  3S-  say  -Hab  -Pres  3Pl
Pers-  Vint  Intr  -Pers  P  Pers-  Vint  -Asp  -T/A1  Pro

'then it will eat it, so they always say'. (EW Kanaimo 046)
'Those who know about these things really say so'. (EW Kanaímô 047)

yenda'na mòrò ji ok pòk yenda'na
y- enda'na mòrò ji ok pòk y- enda'na
3- eat Fut Emph game WRT 3- eat
Pers- Vintr Prtcl? Prtcl N P Pers- Vintr

'He will eat the game/meat' (EW Kanaímô 048)

mòrò gazarò inggerô
mòrò kaza -rò ingge -rò
that like -Emph frequently -Emph
Dem P -Prtcl Adv -Prtcl

igu'ning be eeji a'tai
i- kubì -ning pe a- eeji a'tai
3- do -A.Nzr like 2- be if
Pers- Vtr -Nzr P Pers- Vintr Conj?

'If you really frequently like to do this kind of thing' (EW Kanaímô 049)

mòrò gazarò ji ömurani berô
mòrò kaza -rò ji a- murani pe -rò
that like -Emph Emph 2- charm like -Emph
Dem P -Prtcl Prtcl Pers- N P -Prtcl

ji, ok murani be ji
y- eeji ok murani pe ji
3- be game charm like Emph
Pers- Vintr N N P Prtcl

'That's is how it really is, it will really become yours, this game charm' (EW Kanaímô 050)

e'tane, mòrò e'paga'nì'sa'auya a'tai
e'tane mòrò e'pagabi -nìgì -zak -au -ya a'tai
but that stop -Caus -Perf -2 -Erg if
PRTCL? Dem Vintr -VDer -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Conj?

'But if you stop doing that '. (EW Kanaímô 051)

idodo be ji yesara'tô
idodo pe ji y- z- ara'tô
killer like Emph 3- Detr- transform
N P Prtcl Pers- Intr- Vtr

'It will then become a kanaímô or it will start being a real kanaímô' (EW Kanaímô 052)
A lot of charm should not be used, so they say' (EW Kanaimo 053)

ti'tuik praró murang eji mörö
t- i'tu -ze bra -rō murang eji mörö
Adv- know -Prtcpl Neg -Emph charm be A.I.? 
?- Vtr -Vder Neg -Prtcpl N V ?

'there are numerous types of charms' (EW Kanaimo 054)

kwaro'nai, kubi'ta, kwak ta dok ya
kwaro'nai kubi'ta kwak ta tok ya
ginger.charm herb.charm charm(Sp) say 3Pl Erg 
N N N Vtr Pro P

rō murang amōk eji sari murani eji
rō murang amōk eji sari murani eji
Emph charm Pl be red.brocket.deer charm be
Prtcpl N Num V N V

'kwaro'nai, kubi'ta, kwak, so they say. Really there are many 
charms so that there are many types of deer charms also' (EW Kanaimo 
055)

egebe giu'sa'auya a'tai
ege -be i- kūbi -zak -au -ya a'tai
big -Attr 3- do -Perf -2 -Erg if 
N -Azr Pers- Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Conj?

özö be rō ji
özö pe rō y- eji
dangerous like Emph 3- be
N P Prtcpl Pers- Vintr

'If you use too much of it, it could be very dangerous' (EW Kanaimo 
056)

özö ek pe rō murang eji
özö ek pe rō murang eji
dangerous Hab like Emph charm be
N Prtcpl P Prtcpl N V

'This kind of charm is usually very dangerous' (EW Kanaimo 057)

ömire ponarō ye'morongga,
a- mire pona -rō y- e'morongga
2- child to -Emph 3- bring.evil
Pers- N P -Prtcpl Pers- Vintr
'because it is dangerous, it will backfire on your own child and can kill your own child' (EW Kanaimô 058)

titouk  pra ro ozo be yeji
 t- i'tu -ze bra ro ozo pe y- eji
 Adv- know -Prtcpl Neg Emph dangerous like3- be
 ?- Vtr -Vder Neg Prtcl N  P Pers- V

'It is dangerous in many ways' (EW Kanaimô 059)

morege titouk kuru
more ke t- i'tu -ze kuru
that Instr Adv- know -Prtcpl Emph
Dem P ?- Vtr -Vder Prtcl

e-e'to'pe ji ta dok ya
a- eji -do'pe ji ta tok ya
2- be -Deontic Emph say 3Pl Erg
Pers- V -Vinfl Prtcl Vtr Pro P

'that's why you should always be aware of this, so they say.' (EW Kanaimô 060)

more au ganang mang, tok ebanamadok kanang
more au ganang mang tok ebanama -dok kanang

'There is something again for which they give advice again' (EW Kanaimô 061)

kubita yuzmai'ma, moro bok eji'ma
kubita yuzma '-i'ma moro pok eji -i'ma
herb.charm use -While that occupied.with be -While
N Vtr ?- Dem P V -?

'When you are using kubita, and while you are using this' (EW Kanaimô 062)

re'kô anauya beng ta dok ya moro
re'kô anô -au -ya beng ta tok ya moro
catfish eat.meat -2 -Erg Neg say 3Pl Erg that
N Vtr -Pers -Agr Neg Vtr Pro P Dem

bok eenda'na beng ta dok ya
pok a- enda'na beng ta tok ya
WRT 2- eat Neg say 3Pl Erg
P Pers- Vintr Neg Vtr Pro P

'You cannot eat catfish, you cannot eat this, so they say' (EW Kanaimô 063)
ti'tuik prarō mīgī, tok ya
t- i'tu -ze bra -rō mīgī tok ya
Adv- know -Prtcl Neg -Emph Hes 3Pl Erg
?- Vtr -Vder Neg -Prtcl Prtcl Pro P

auro'ka, murang bōk tok ya auro'ka
auro'ka murang pōk tok ya auro'ka
advise charm WRT 3Pl Erg advise
Vtr N P Pro P Vtr

'They would tell and warn the charm user about these things' (EW Kanaimō 064)

özō ek pe sa'ne ji
özō ek pe sa'ne eji
dangerous Hab like Emph be
N Prtcl P Prtcl V

'since it is really dangerous' (EW Kanaimō 065)

turonna'tai a'mangbōdī ta ro dok ya
turonnō a'atai a'māmī -bōdī ta -rō tok ya
another when swell -Iter say -Emph 3Pl Erg
N Conj? Vintr -Asp Vtr -Prtcl Pro P

'Sometimes you can suffer from frequent swellings,' they might say.'
(EW Kanaimō 066)

mōrō gubauya a'tai, i'tui'ma bra mōrō
mōrō kubī -au -ya a'atai i'tu -i'ma bra mōrō
that do -2 -Erg when know -While Neg that
Dem Vtr -Pers -Agr Conj? Vtr -? Neg Dem

bōk ausenaga a'tai
pōk a- zena gate a'atai
about 2- play if
P Pers- Vintr Conj?

'When you do such things, if you do play with it without knowing
about it (about its consequences)' (EW Kanaimō 067)

mōrōbang ji eji mōrō, serō be ji,
mōrōbang ji eji mōrō zerō be y- eji
thereafter Emph be A.I.? this like 3- be
N Prtcl V ? Pro P Pers- Vintr

idodo be na'nek chi
idodo be nai -nek y- eji
killer like 3.be.Pres -Rel 3- be
N P Vintr -Rel Pers- Vintr

'Therefore it is that, at this point, he is one that is an idodo.' (EW Kanaimō 068)
'Then they will say, he is an idodo' (EW Kanaimô 069)

ka'pong amôk ya ji i'nairô sa'ne ji idodo
ka'pong amôk ya ji i'nairô sa'ne ji idodo
person Pl Erg Emph truly Emph Emph killer
N P Num P Prtcl Adv? Prtcl Prtcl N

muranî be ji yera'tôzak
muranî pe ji y- era'tô -zak
charm like Emph 3- turn around -Perf
N P Prtcl Pers- Vintr -T/A2

'It is the person who has truly turn the herbal charm into the killer idodo.' (EW Kanaimô 070)

môrô ji mîgî môrô, môrô ji eji mîgî tok
môrô ji mîgî môrô môrô ji eji mîgî tok
that Emph Ens that that Emph be Ens 3Pl
Dem Prtcl Prtcl Dem Dem Prtcl V Prtcl V

ezeru be yenazak, idodo be ji
ezeru pe y- ena -zak idodo pe ji
ways like 3- become -Perf killer like Emph
N P Pers- Vint -T/A2 N P Prtcl

yera'tôzak
y- era'tô -zak
3- turn.bad -Perf
Pers- Vintr -T/A2

'well.....well...it has become their way of life, it has been turned into the killer idodo, it has backfired.' (EW Kanaimô 071)

ok pôk pra ji ka'pong
ok pôk bra y- eji ka'pong
game occupied.with Neg 3- be person
N P Neg Pers- Vintr N

bôk chi
pôk y- eji
occupied.with 3- be
P Pers- Vintr

'It is not concerning itself with game but about humans' (EW Kanaimô 072)
'It has started this, therefore it will be killing humans' (EW Kanaimo 073)

'If it comes near to this house' (EW Kanaimo 076)
'I do not know why he would cause people to know him.' (EW Kanaimo 078)

e'tane ji idodo be ye'sak enauya beng
however Emph killer like come -Perf see -2 -Erg Neg
PRTCL? Prccl N P Vint -T/A2 V -Pers -Agr Neg

'However, you still would not know that he has come to be a killer' (EW Kanaimo 079)

 kirō migi amök yukan awong gong bök ta dok a
3Sg.Anim Hes Pl forest in -Nsr Pl about say 3Pl Erg
Pro Prccl Num N P -Nsr sfx P Vtr Pro P

'They are talking about it that lives in the forest' (EW Kanaimo 080)

 maigok amök pök, tengsang gong beng ta dok a
forest.spirit Pl about Adv- see -Pl.Nsr Pl Neg say 3Pl Erg
N Num P ?- V -Nsr sfx Neg Vtr Pro P

'They talk about the forest spirit, they are not to be seen' (EW Kanaimo 081)

 enzai'ya a'tai,
en -zak -i -ya a'tai
see -Perf -3 -Erg if
V -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Conj?

 ama'tani'iya ro mörö ta dok a
2 - destroy -3 -Erg Emph Fut say 3Pl Erg
Pers Vtr -Pers -Agr Prccl Prccl? Vtr Pro P

'If it sees you it will certainly destroy you, so they say' (EW Kanaimo 082)

 enzai'ya a'tai
ene -zak -i -ya a'tai
see -Perf -3 -Erg when
V -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Conj?

'when it sees at that time' (EW Kanaimo 083)

 e'tane enzai'ya a'tai ganang,
e'tane ene -zak -au -ya a'tai kanang
but see -Perf -2 -Erg if again
PRTCL? V -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Conj? Adv?
'But if you see him again and if you see him again, at that time' (EW Kanaimô 084)

'you will take away the strength of it' (EW Kanaimô 085)

'So they said' (EW Kanaimô 086)

'In that way, therefore, you will have frequent fevers' (EW Kanaimô 087)

'Although he has seen you and you did not see him, it will still make you get fever' (EW Kanaimô 088)

'It's strength is strong, it's strength' (EW Kanaimô 089)

'The idodo is the one that is really killing people' (EW Kanaimô 090)
"How then does he kill a human being (EW Kanaimö 091)"

ka'pong wōnōiya
ka'pong wōnō -i -ya
what like Uncert person kill -3 -Erg
N Vtr -Pers -Agr

'He will kill a person without mercy, and even cut off his 'possession' (genitals) (EW Kanaimö 092)"

pra rō mīgī agī'pōdībōk ji
bra rō mīgī agīdī -bōdī -bōk y- eji
Neg Emph this cut -Hab -Prog 3- be
Neg Prtcl Pro Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Pers- Vintr

'Unknowningly and without care, he would cut up whatever he wants to' (EW Kanaimö 093)"

jenaga, awe'nagang agīdīiya
i- sennaga a- we'nagang agīdī -i -ya
3- play 2- rectum cut -3 -Erg
Pers- Vintr Pers- N Vtr -Pers -Agr

'He plays with you and would cut up your rectum' (EW Kanaimö 094)"

idung agī'sai'ya mang
i- ung agīdī -zak -i -ya mang
3- penis cut -Perf -3 -Erg 3.be.Pres
Pers- N Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Cop

'His penis has been cut.' (EW Kanaimö 0950)"

ibōk jennagazak mang, eda
i- pōk i- sennaga -zak mang eda
3- WRT 3- play -Perf 3.be.Pres leaf
Pers- P Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Cop N
This is why you will hear them say, it has played with the victim, he has fed it with leaves' (EW Kanaimo 096)

'I don't know how they like they play with a person' (EW Kanaimo 097)

'However, in spite of this, you will live instead of dying immediately' (EW Kanaimo 098)

'Or he/she will take three days to die' (EW Kanaimo 099)

'I do not know how those(entities) are, they are satanic' (EW Kanaimo 100)

'I do not know how they usually are those idodo killers' (EW Kanaimo 101)
'Then, they do other things again after killing you' (EW Kanaimo 102)

yu' na'tok  audōsak  a'tai, tok ya embirī
y- u'na'tō -ik a- tō -zak a'tai tok ya embirī
3- bury -Purp 2- go -Perf when 3Pl Erg watch
Pers- Vtr -Vder Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Conj? Pro P Vtr

When you go to bury it, they will watch you' (EW Kanaimo 103)

mōrau genik  eji'ma,  tok a embirī
mōrau genik  eji -i'ma tok ya embirī
there specifically be -While 3Pl Erg watch
Adv Prtcl V -? Pro P Vtr

mōrō, tok enauya  bra rō
mōrō tok ene -au -ya bra rō
A.I.? 3Pl see -2 -Erg Neg Emph
? Pro V -Pers -Agr Neg Prtcl

'While they are there they would be watching you without your knowledge, you would not even see them' (EW Kanaimo 104)

auguarami  rō  ji  enebōk  tok eji,
a- guarami rō  ji  ene -bōk tok eji
2- cry Emph Emph see -Prog 3Pl be
Pers- Vintr Prtcl Prtcl V -T/A2 Pro V

mōrōbāng  gong, tok da'kōrōbōdī
mōrōbāng gong tok da'kōrō -bōdī
thereafter Pl 3Pl laugh -Hab
N sfx Pro Vintr -Asp

'The will be watching at you crying and will make fun of you by laughing' (EW Kanaimo 105)

kīrō  rō  esh'pī  guarannōbōk  mōrō gaza
kīrō  rō  eji -'pī kuarami -nōbōk mōrō kaza
3Sg.Anim Emph be -Past cry -Prog that like
Pro Prtcl V -T/A2 Vintr -T/A3 Dem P

'Then they will say he was crying, like that' (EW Kanaimo 106)

auguaram'pī  kubī tok a
a- guarami -'pī kubī tok ya
2- cry -Past make 3Pl Erg
Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Vtr Pro P

'They will imitate your crying' (EW Kanaimo 107)
mōrau rō genik tok eji -'pī
there Emph specifically 3Pl be -Past
Adv Prtcl Prtcl Pro V -T/A2

'There they were nearby, without your knowing' (EW Kanaimô 108)

yu'nā'tō genik enebōk kenik te'sang
y- u'nā'tō genik ene -bōk kenik t- eji -zang
3- bury specifically see -Prog Purp Adv- be -Pl.Nzr
Pers- Vtr Prtcl V -T/A2 P? ?- V -Nzr

gong berō tok eji, tok ene bra rō
gong pe -rō tok eji tok ene bra rō
Pl like -Emph 3Pl be 3Pl see Neg Emph
sfx P -Prtcl Pro V Pro V Neg Prtcl

'They are known to watch you bury the victim, without you
knowing that they are doing so' (EW Kanaimô 109)

ōnik yang berō geng idodo amōk eji mō
ōnik yang pe -rō keng idodo amōk eji mō
who Pl like -Emph doubt killer Pl be Uncrt
WH Pl P -Prtcl Prtcl N Num V Prtcl

'I really do not know who the idodo killers are' (EW Kanaimô 110)

idodo amōk sa'ne ji eji mōrō
idodo amōk sa'ne ji eji mōrō
killer Pl Emph Emph be A.I.?
N Num Prtcl Prtcl V ?

'The idodo killers really are' (EW Kanaimô 111)

maigok amōk pe rō sa'ne ji tok eji mōrō go
maigok amōk pe rō sa'ne ji tok eji mōrō ko
forest.spirit Pl like Emph Emph Emph 3Pl be A.I.? Emph
N Num P Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pro V ? Prtcl

'They can also be forest spirits you know' (EW Kanaimô 112)

nai gaza geng ji tok ezeru eji mō
nai kaza keng ji tok ezeru eji mōrō
what like doubt Emph 3Pl way be A.I.?
N P Prtcl Prtcl Pro N V ?

'do not know what their ways are like' (EW Kanaimô 113)

mōrō sa'ne ji murang kuru ji bōk tok eji ta dok a
mōrō sa'ne ji murang kuru ji pōk tok eji ta tok ya
that Emph Emph charm Emph Emph on 3Pl be say 3Pl Erg
Dem Prtcl Prtcl N Prtcl Prtcl P Pro V Vtr Pro P

'You see they are really on the charm(murang), so they say (EW Kanaimô
114
mōrau murang eji ta dok a
mōrau murang eji ta tok ya
there charm be say 3Pl Erg
Adv N V Vtr Pro P

'There is a kind of charm, so they say' (EW Kanaimō 115)

pirimok nīgabōkang ne tok ko
pirimok n- ka -bōdī -ang ne tok ko
dragonfly 3S- say -Iter -Pres particularly 3Pl Emph
N Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 Prtcl Pro Prtcl

'The dragon-fly charm, so they often say' (EW Kanaimō 116)

tok arōning mōrō
tok arō -ning mōrō
3Pl carry -A.Nzr that
Pro Vtr -Nzr Dem

'This is the thing that make them high' (EW Kanaimō 117)

tok arōning be ji
tok arō -ning pe ji
3Pl carry -A.Nzr like Emph
Pro Vtr -Nzr P Prtcl

nīgabōkang ne tok ko mōrō murang
n- ka -bōdī -ang ne tok ko mōrō murang
3S- say -Iter -Pres particularly 3Pl Emph that charm
Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 Prtcl Pro Prtcl Dem N

'It is their means for travelling (spiritually), that charm, so they often say' (EW Kanaimō 118)

ok muranī be rō ganang ji ta'pī tok a
ok muranī pe rō kanang ji ta -'pī tok ya
game charm like Emph also Emph say -Past 3Pl Erg
N N P Prtcl Adv? Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 Pro P

'This charm is also a charm for game, so they say' (EW Kanaimō 119)

e'tane i'tui'ma bra ganang ji mōrō
eji -dane i'tu -i'ma bra kanang ji mōrō
be -while know -While Neg again Emph that
Vintr -T/A2? Vtr -? Neg Adv? Prtcl Dem

bōk azennagazak a'tai
pōk a- sennaga -zak a'tai
about 2- play -Perf if
P Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Conj?
tigingnannó ya egama'pi

tigingnannó ya egama -'pi
one Erg tell -Past
Num P Vtr -T/A2

'One person told this account' (EW Kanaimö 121)

nigadai uró damo
n- ka -dai uró tamo
3S- say -Past 1Sg father-in-law
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Pro N

'So my father-in-law/uncle said' (EW Kanaimö 122)

kago bona kajiri engik döng
kago pona kajiri eng -ik tō -nnō
Kako unto manioc.beer drink -Purp go -1+2S
N P N Vtr -Vder Vintr -Pers

'mang ta'pi tok a
mang ta -'pi tok ya
3.be.Pres say -Past 3Pl Erg
Cop Vtr -T/A2 Pro P

'We are about to go to Kako to drink kajiri, they (idodos) said' (EW Kanaimö 123)

möröbang möröbannō nanji
möröbang möröbang -nō namo -ji
thereafter thereafter -Emph Uncrtnty -Emph
N N -Prtc1 Prtc1 -Prtc1

yuzma'pi tok a jì a'pō'pōdī'pi
yuzma -'pi tok ya jì a'pōdī -bōdī -'pi
use -Past 3Pl Erg Emph touch -Iter -Past
Vtr -T/A2 Pro P Prtc1 Vtr -Asp -T/A2

'They had probably touched and used it (the charm) before travelling to Kako' (EW Kanaimö 124)

wan secant au bra rō
wan secant yau bra rō
one second in Neg Emph
Num N P Neg Prtc1

'Not even in one second' (EW Kanaimö 125)

kago bona tok dō'pi
kago pona tok dō -'pi
Kako unto 3Pl go -Past
N P Pro Vintr -T/A2

'They went to Kako' (EW Kanaimö 126)
serabi kago eji mörö sex aurs waking
from here Kako be A.I.? six hours walking
Adv N V ? Num N N?

'From here Kako is six hours walking' (EW Kanaimö 127)

mörö ji e'tane hai!
that Emph be -while Anticipation
Dem Prtcl V -T/A2? SW

'While this was so, hai!' (EW Kanaimö 128)

tok engurungbō디
tok engurumī -bō디
3Pl wait -Iter
Pro Vintr -Asp

'They waited around' (EW Kanaimö 129)

kamo idombadong eba'kagabi,
kamoro i- tomba -dong eba'ka -gabi
3.Pl.Anim 3- relative -Pl come.out -Cmpltv
Pro Pers- N -Nsfx Vintr -Asp

kajiri engik tok eba'kagabi
kajiri eng -ik tok eba'ka -gabi
manioc.beer drink -Purp 3Pl come.out -Cmpltv
N Vtr -Vder Pro Vintr -Asp

'His other partners (relatives) came out from the forest, they came out to drink kajiri' (EW Kanaimö 130)

e'tane ticingnannō e'so'nangzak eji'pi
e'tane ticingnannō e'so'nami -zak eji -'pi
but one hide -Perf be -Past
PRTCL? Num Vint -T/A2 V -T/A2

'But there was one of them who was hiding' (EW Kanaimö 131)

ö'rō gang rō ji ye'-sak se go,
ö'rō kang rō ji yebī -zak se ko
what for Emph Emph come -Perf this Emph
WH P Prtcl Prtcl Vintr -T/A2 Dem.Pro Prtcl

öri be kuru tok zaurogī, ka'pong amök zaurogī
öri pe kuru tok zaurogī ka'pong amök zaurogī
bad like Emph 3Pl talk person Pl talk
N P Prtcl Prtcl Vintr N Num Vintr

'The people would be really talking badly about this, by saying' What has he come for? (EW Kanaimö 132)
'Because he did not want the people to say, 'those people came here', he stood far away in the bushes looking on' (EW Kanaimo 133)

'They were drinking kajiri (EW Kanaimo 134)

'Then they returned not too long after' (EW Kanaimo 135)

'It is very dangerous, they say' (EW Kanaimo 136)

'They return as idodos do, through the use of murang' (EW Kanaimo 138)
murang eji özö pe
murang eji özö pe
charm be dangerous like
N V N P

'The charm murang is dangerous' (EW Kanaimo 139)

mörö gaza rögeng idodo ezeru chi'tu'ail, murang winö'ne.
mörö kaza rögeng idodo ezeru si- i'tu -ail murang winö'ne
that like only killer way 1A- know -Pres charm through
Dem P Prtcl N N Pers- Vtr -T/A1 N P

'That's the only knowledge I have of the ways of the
idosos, through their use of the different charms' (EW Kanaimo 140)

migï piyai'chang yë nörö tok enubë migï te'tok au rö,
migï piyai'chang yë nörö tok enubë migï t- eji -dok yau rö
Hes shaman Erg also 3Pl teach Hes 3.Rfl- be -Nsr when Emph

nigabö'ang ne tok ko, mörö wenai tok
n- ka -bōdī -ang ne tok ko mörö wenai tok
3S- say -Iter -Pres particularly 3Pl Emph that because 3Pl
Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 PrtclDem P Pro Prtcl Pro P Pro

zenjima ok pe tabōdī za'ne tok ya i'nairö rōnamento.
z- enjima ok pe ta -bōdī za'ne tok ya i'nairö rōnamento
Detr- transform game like say -Iter exactly 3Pl Erg truly maybe
Intr- Vtr N P Vtr -Asp Prtcl Pro P Adv? Adv?

'I understand that the shaman teaches the idosos to be just like
themselves, that is why they can transform themselves into game. I
am not certain if this is so. do you think this is so?' (EW Kanaimo 141)

eheh, tu'tuik pra rö ji
eheh t- i'tu -ze bra rö ji
clear.throat Adv- know -Prtcpl Neg Emph Emph
SW ?- Vtr -Vder Neg Prtcl Prtcl

tok eji nigadai genji tok ko.
tok eji n- ka -dai genik -ji tok ko
3Pl be 3S- say -Past specifically -Emph 3Pl Emph
Pro V Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl -Prtcpl Pro Prtcl

'E.heh, they do this in all kinds of different ways, so they said about
it' (EW Kanaimo 142)

migï mörö ji ka'pong wōzak a'tai ji,
migï mörö ji ka'pong wōnō -zak a'tai ji
Hes that Emph person kill -Perf when Emph
Prtcl Dem Prtcl N Vtr -T/A2 Conj? Prtcl
'When you kill a person, when you kill a person (HES)' (EW Kanaimo 143)

oi'mane be ji tok enazak
oi'mane pe ji tok ena -zak
evil.spirit like Emph 3Pl become -Perf
N P Prtcl Pro Vint -T/A2

' THEY become oi'mane, this is why they usually say there was an oi'mane (EW Kanaimo 144)

oi'mane, pörödugu ak rö, waime'sa ak rö migi mörö a'numi
oi'mane pörödugu yak rö waime'sa yak rö migi mörö a'numi
evil.spirit frog into Emph lizard into Emph Hes that groan
N N P Prtcl N P Prtcl Prtcl Dem Vintr

'This oi'mane would possess (lit. go into) a frog or a lizard and groan' (EW Kanaimo 145)

mörau pörödugu a'numi sebodai, ege sairong.
mörau pörödugu a'numi s- eboro -dai ege sairö -ng
there frog groan 1A- find -Past big here -Nzr
Adv N Vintr Pers- Vtr -T/A1 N Adv -Nzr

'I found a groaning frog there, one that was this big' (EW Kanaimo 146)

önik rö ji a'numi
önik rö ji a'numi
who Emph Emph groan
WH Prtcl Prtcl Vintr

'Who is it that is groaning? (EW Kanaimo 157)

pörödugu a'numi, ka'pong be ji mm... mm...
pörödugu a'numi ka'pong pe ji mm mm
frog groan person like Emph groan groan
N Vintr N P Prtcl SW SW

mm amörö sa'ne ji gubi tok a mörö go.
mm amörö sa'ne ji kubi tok ya mörö ko
groan 2Sg Emph Emph do 3Pl Erg that Emph
SW Pro Prtcl Prtcl Vtr Pro P Dem Prtcl

It was the frog that was groaning like a person, im...im...im. It is really imitating you' (EW Kanaimo 158)
e'nek pe eeji a'tai mm. mm tabödī'pīa,ya,
e'nek pe a- eji a'tai mm mm ta -bōdī -'pī -au -ya
sick like 2- be if groan groan say -Iter -Past -2 -Erg
N  P  Pers- V  Conj?  SW  SW  Vtr -Asp -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

e'nek pe ji tok a awōzak a'tai ji
e'nek pe ji tok ya a- wōnō -zak a'tai ji
sick like Emph 3Pl Erg 2- kill -Perf when Emph
N  P  Prtcl Pro  P  Pers- Vtr -T/A2 Conj?  Prtcl

'It imitates the groaning you made when you were sick, when they
killed you' (EW Kanaimō 159)

mōrōbang ji gubi pīzamo a ji mōrō
mōrōbang ji kubi pīzamo ya ji mōrō
thereafter Emph do these.Anim Erg Emph A.I.?
N  Prtcl Vtr  Pro  P  Prtcl ?

'These are the people who would then imitate you' (EW Kanaimō 160)

kamo ak chi tok ewongbō'sak turonnō
kamoro yak ji tok ewomī -bōdī -zak turonnō
3.Pl.Anim into Emph 3Pl enter -Iter -Perf another
Pro  P  Prtcl Pro  Vintr -Asp -T/A2 N

'They had entered into those things' (EW Kanaimō 161)

mōrōbang gong a zari
mōrōbang gong ya sari
thereafter Pl  Erg red.brocket.deer
N  sfx  P  N

tanzeng beng ta'pī dok a
t- anō -zeng beng ta -'pī tok ya
Adv- eat.meat -Abs.Nzr Neg say -Past 3Pl Erg
?-  Vtr  -Nzr  Neg  Vtr  -T/A2  Pro  P

'This is why they say the re-brocket-deer should not be eaten' (EW Kanaimō 162)

kariaugī tanzeng beng ta'pī tok a
kariaugī t- anō -zeng beng ta -'pī tok ya
brown.deer Adv- eat.meat -Abs.Nzr Neg say -Past 3Pl Erg
N  ?-  Vtr  -Nzr  Neg  Vtr  -T/A2  Pro  P

You should not eat the brown deer, so they say' (EW Kanaimō 163)

kariaugī eboro'pī tok a, nīgadai
kariaugī eboro -'pī tok ya n- ka -dai
brown.deer find -Past 3Pl Erg 3S- say -Past
N  Vtr  -T/A2  Pro  P  Pers- Vintr  -T/A1
'A deer was found once so they say' (EW Kanaimo 164)

\[
\begin{align*}
etane & \quad enza'ya & \quad bra & \quad mang & \quad yenu & \quad ge \\
etane & \quad ene & \quad -zak & \quad -u & \quad -ya & \quad bra & \quad mang & \quad y- & \quad enu & \quad ke \\
but & \quad see & \quad -Perf & \quad -1 & \quad -Erg & \quad Neg & \quad 3.be Pres & \quad 1- & \quad eye & \quad Instr \\
PRTCL? & \quad V & \quad -T/A2 & \quad -Pers & \quad -Agr & \quad Neg & \quad Cop & \quad Pers- & \quad N & \quad P \\
\end{align*}
\]

'But I have not seen it with my eyes' (EW Kanaimo 165)

\[
\begin{align*}
 kir \quad & \quad e'nek \quad pe & \quad na'nek & \quad Fernaz & \quad a \\
kir \quad & \quad e'nek \quad pe & \quad nai & \quad -nek & \quad Fernaz & \quad ya \\
3SgAnim & \quad sick & \quad like & \quad 3.be Pres & \quad -Rel & \quad Fernaz & \quad Erg \\
Pro & \quad N & \quad P & \quad Vintr & \quad -Rel & \quad N & \quad P \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ene'pi & \quad nigena'ai & \quad ne & \quad tok & \quad ko, & \quad ido'dane \\
en & \quad -'pi & \quad n- & \quad ka & \quad -dai & \quad ne & \quad tok & \quad ko & \quad i- & \quad to & \quad -dane \\
see & \quad -Past & \quad 3Sg & \quad say & \quad -Past & \quad particularly & \quad 3Pl & \quad Emph & \quad 3- & \quad go & \quad -while \\
V & \quad -T/A2 & \quad Pers & \quad Vintr & \quad -T/A1 & \quad PRTC & \quad Pro & \quad PRTC & \quad Pers- & \quad Vintr & \quad -T/A2? \\
\end{align*}
\]

Fernaz, the one who is sick saw one while he was going, so they said' (EW Kanaimo 166)

\[
\begin{align*}
ka'pong & \quad genik & \quad sa'ne wo'zak & \quad idodo & \quad amok & \quad a & \quad esh'pi \\
ka'pong & \quad genik & \quad sa'ne wo'no' & \quad -zak & \quad idodo & \quad amok & \quad ya & \quad eji & \quad -'pi \\
person & \quad specifically & \quad Emph & \quad kill & \quad -Perf & \quad killer & \quad PlErg & \quad be & \quad -Past \\
N & \quad PRTC & \quad PRTC & \quad VTR & \quad -T/A2 & \quad N & \quad Num & \quad P & \quad V & \quad -T/A2 \\
\end{align*}
\]

'The idodos had killed a person' (EW Kanaimo 167)

\[
\begin{align*}
morobang & \quad gorota'u ji, & \quad ege & \quad be & \quad ming & \quad e'kwami \\
morobang & \quad koro'tau ji & \quad ege & \quad pe & \quad ming & \quad e'kwami \\
thereafter & \quad while & \quad Emph & \quad big & \quad like & \quad blood & \quad pour \\
N & \quad P & \quad PRTC & \quad N & \quad P & \quad N & \quad Vintr \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
idenna & \quad ai, & \quad ming & \quad e'kwami & \quad indanaworo \\
i- & \quad enna & \quad yai & \quad ming & \quad e'kwami & \quad i- & \quad mida & \quad nau & \quad aworo \\
3- & \quad nose & \quad through & \quad blood & \quad pour & \quad 3- & \quad mouth & \quad within & \quad around \\
Pers- & \quad N & \quad P & \quad N & \quad Vintr & \quad Pers- & \quad N & \quad P & \quad P \\
\end{align*}
\]

'While he was going he saw the deer and there was blood pouring out of it's nose and blood was also pouring out of it's mouth' (EW Kanaimo 168)

\[
\begin{align*}
hee! & \quad hee! & \quad hee! & \quad tai'ma & \quad ji & \quad a'numi'ma & \quad ji & \quad yebi & \quad karlaugui, \\
hee & \quad hee & \quad hee & \quad ta & \quad -i'ma & \quad ji & \quad a'numi & \quad -i'ma & \quad ji & \quad yebi & \quad karlaugui \\
groan & \quad groan & \quad groan & \quad say & \quad -While & \quad Emph & \quad groan & \quad -While & \quad Emph & \quad come & \quad brown.deer \\
SW & \quad SW & \quad SW & \quad VTR & \quad -? & \quad PRTC & \quad Vintr & \quad -? & \quad PRTC & \quad VINT & \quad N \\
\end{align*}
\]
nįgadai ne tok ko
n- ka -dai ne tok ko
3S- say -Past particularly 3Pl Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Pro Prtcl

'While making the groaning sound hee! hee! hee! the deer came along so they say' (EW Kanaimo 169)

e'tane bilibmaning beng urō ta mōrō,
e'tane bilibma -ning beng urō ta mōrō
but believe -A.Nzr Neg 1Sg say A.I.? 
PRTCL? Vtr -Nzr Neg Pro Vtr ?

enzau'ya bra sa'ne ji
ene -zak -u -ya bra sa'ne eji
see -Perf -1 -Erg Neg Emph be
V -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Neg Prtcl Vintr

'But I do not believe it you know, I have not seen it' (EW Kanaimo 170)

enzau'ya a'tai na'kō
ene -zak -u -ya a'tai na'kō
see -Perf -1 -Erg if maybe
V -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Conj? Adv

'Maybe if I had seen it' (EW Kanaimo 171)

mōrōge angning beng nįgadai
mōrō ke anō -ning beng n- ka -dai
that Instr eat.meat -A.Nzr Neg 3S- say -Past
Dem P Vtr -Nzr Neg Pers- Vintr -T/A1

ne tok ko
ne tok ko
particularly 3Pl Emph
Prtcl Pro Prtcl

'That's why he does not eat it, so they say' EW Kanaimo 172

eboro'piya ji, tanzeng beng nō
eboro -'pi -i -ya ji t- anō -zeng beng nō
find -Past -3 -Erg Emph Adv- eat.meat -Abs.Nzr Neg Emph
Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl ?- Vtr -Nzr Neg Prtcl

He did meet the deer, the one that should not be eaten' (EW Kanaimo 173)

mōrōge ne zari ezagî
mōrō ke ne sari ezagî
that Instr particularly red.brocket.deer name
Dem P Prtcl N Vtr

tok a mōrō go ka pong amok a in this village
tok ya mōrō ko ka pong amok ya
3Pl Erg A.I.? Emph person Pl Erg
Pro P ? Prtcl N Num P
'This is why the brocket deer is called a special name in this village' (EW Kanaimo 174)

oi'mane  tawong  gong kamoro
oi'mane  ta  -wong  gong kamoro
N  Vtr  -nzr  sfx  Pro

'They call it oi'mane(evil-spirit)' (EW Kanaimo 175)

kírö  wogu'sau'ya  mang
kírö  wôñô  -gabî  -zak  -au  -ya  mang
3Sg.Anim kill  -Cmpltv  -Perf  -2  -Erg 3.be.Pres
Pro  Vtr  -Asp  -T/A2  -Pers  -Agr Cop

oi'mane  ta  dok a
oi'mane  ta  tok  ya
evil.spirit say 3Pl Erg
N  Vtr  Pro  P

'You have already killed oi'mane they would say' (EW Kanaimo 176)

ônik warai kuru  eji  mörô,  tamboro  zari  amôk
ônik warai kuru  y-  eji  mörô  tamboro  sari  amôk
who  like  Emph  J-  be  A.I.?  all  red.brocket.deer  Pl
WH  P  Prtcl  Pers  Vintr  ?  Adv  N  Num

'Which one is really the one, all types of deer? (EW Kanaimo 177)

tamboro  sa'ne
tamboro  sa'ne
all  Emph
Adv  Prtcl

'All of them' (EW Kanaimo 178)

zari  bek  kírö  ege  be  te'seng
sari  bek  kírö  ege  pe  t-  eji  -zeng
red.brocket.deer  QP  3Sg.Anim  big  like  Adv-  be  -Abs.Nzr
N  Prtcl  Pro  N  P  ?-  Vintr  -Nzr

'Is the brocket deer the big one' (EW Kanaimo 179)

eh  eh  brong  bang
eh  eh  brong  pe  -ang
yes  yes  brown  like  -Nzr
Prtcl  Prtcl  N  P  -Nzr

'Yes it is the big brown one' (EW Kanaimo 180)

tamboro  rô  ji  ta  dok a  kamoro  ji
tamboro  rô  ji  ta  tok  ya  kamoro  ji
all  Emph  Emph  say  3Pl  Erg  3.Pl.Anim  Emph
Adv  Prtcl  Prtcl  Vtr  Pro  P  Pro  Prtcl

'All of them are like that they say, they are all like that' (EW Kanaimo 181)
e'tane za'ne ji enza'uya bra ji
e'tane sa'ne ji ene -zak -u -ya bra eji
but Emphh Emphh see -Perf -1 -Erg Neg be
PRTCL? Prtcl Prtcl V -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Neg Vintr

ge, i'tu a bra rō ji
ke i'tu u- ya bra rō eji
Instr know 1- Erg Neg Emphh be
P Vtr Pers- P Neg Prtcl Vintr

'But because I have not seen it, I do not know about it' (EW Kanaimō 182)

2. PS Duck Story

turonnō ganang bek nai mōrau?
turonnō kanang bek nai mōrau
another also QP 3.be.Pres there
N Adv? Prtcl Vintr Adv

<Interviewer> 'Is there another one?' (PS Duck Story 001 <000.000>)

ō'rō nai turonnō bek nai go?.
ō'rō nai turonnō bek nai ko
WH Vintr N Prtcl Vintr Prtcl

i'tuwa bra naik ko
i'tu -u -wa bra nai -k ko
know -1 -Erg Neg 3.be.Pres -Style Emphh
Vtr -Pers -Agr Neg Vintr -? Prtcl

'I wonder if there is another one? I do not know any now' (PS Duck Story 002 <003.385>)

kuwō nai yak rō namo itō'pi
kuwō nai yak rō namo i- tō -'pi
oh. my where into Emphh Uncrtnty 3- go -Past
Prtcl N P Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vintr -T/A2

mang ta mō
mang ta mó
3.be.Pres say Uncrtn
Cop Vtr Prtcl

'Oh my, I do not know where it has gone you know' (PS Duck Story 003 <023.193>)

ō'rō dawong rō namo dō'pi mang
ō'rō ta -wong rō namo tō -'pi mang
what say -Nzr/Rel? Emphh Uncrtnty go -Past 3.be.Pres
WH Vtr -nzr Prtcl Prtcl Vintr -T/A2 Cop
'I don't know where the one that may say (something) has gone' (PS Duck Story 004 <030.254>)

mörödong bök rö amunggamök
mörö -dong pök rö a- munggō amök
that -Pl about Emph 2- children Pl
Dem -Nsfx P Prtcl Pers- Npsd Num

auro'kabö'tök tauya
auro'ka -bōdi -dök ta -u -ya
tell -Iter -Pl.Imp say -l -Erg
Vtr -Asp -Imp Vtr -Pers -Agr

<Interviewer> 'You should tell your children about it, I say' (PS Duck Story 005 <031.756>)

tok bu'toğabī namaik ibök,
tok pu'toğabī namaik i- pök
3Pl forget prevent.Purp 3- about
Pro Vintr Adv Pers- P

<Interviewer> 'So they would not forget about it' (PS Duck Story 006 <042.291>)

wagidong rö airō stori amök
wagî -dong rö airō stori amök
good -Pl Emph sympathy story Pl
N -Nsfx Prtcl Prtcl N Num

bu'toğa'nigî tok a be mang
pu'toğabî -nigî tok ya pe mang
forget -Caus 3Pl Erg like 3.be.Pres
Vintr -VDer Pro P P Cop

<Interviewer> 'It seems that they will be forgetting good stories' (PS Duck Story 007 <045.095>)

ö'rō warai ji tuuronnō nai?
ö'rō warai ji tuuronnō nai
what like Emph another 3.be.Pres
WH P Prtcl N Vintr

'What kind is the other one? (PS Duck Story 008 <050.903>)

a... a tuuronnō ning serō e'köröbaning bennō ning
a a tuuronnō ning serō e'köröba -ning beng -nō ning
ah ah another Emph this make.laugh -A.Nsz Neg -Emph Emph
Hes Hes N Prtcl Pro Vtr -Nsz Neg -Prtcl Prtcl

'Here is another one that is not going to make anyone laugh' (PS Duck Story 009 <055.580>)

egamak rö
egama -gō rö
tell -Imper Emph
Vtr -T/A Prtcl
<Interviewer> 'Tell it anyways' (PS Duck Story 010 <063.171>)
mai'kwak kîrō  mai'kwak tuna  gawong
mai'kwak kîrō  mai'kwak tuna  ka  -wong
duck  3Sg.Anim duck  water say -Nsr/Rel?
N  Pro  N  N  Vintr  -nhr

'The duck, the one that is in the water. (PS Duck Story 012 <064.092>)

mai'kwak
mai'kwak
duck
N

'The duck' (PS Duck Story 013 <069.319>)

môrō dîbo  kîrō  önîk rô  namo
môrō tîbo  kîrō  önîk rô  namo
that after 3Sg.Anim who  Emph  Uncrtnty
Dem  Pos  Pro  WH  Prtcl  Prtcl

diezek  piyang  pe  rî'kwö rô  namo  y- eji
3- name hawk like Dim -Emph  Uncrtnty  3- be
Pers- N  N  'P  Adv?  -Prtcl  Prtcl  Pers- V

'and that one I do not know if its name maybe is the hawk' (PS Duck Story 014 <071.142>)

togodogo  dugaik  tesa'seng  togodogo
togodogo tugaik  t-  ezagi  -zeng  togodogo
owl  like  Adv- name -Abs.Nsr  owl
N  P  ?-  Vtr  -Nsr  N

kamoro  sa'ji  nai  kasa keng  tok  nai,
kamoro  sa'ji  nai  kaza keng  tok  nai
Pro  Prtcl  Vintr  P  Prtcl  Pro  Vintr

'The one that is called owl, those I do not know how they are.' (PS Duck Story 015 <075.087.1>)

pandong  berô  sa'ji
pandong pe  -rô  sa'ji
story  like  -Emph  Emph
N  P  -Prtcl  Prtcl

'It is just a story' (PS Duck Story 016 <075.087.2>)

môra'tai  shi  togodogo  mai'kwak  es'hêj  shi
môra'tai  ji  togodogo  mai'kwak  eji  -'pî  ji
at.that.time  Emph  owl  duck  be  -Past  Emph
Adv?  Prtcl  N  N  Vintr  -T/A2  Prtcl

'At that time, there was really an owl and a duck' (PS Duck Story 017 <081.738>)
'In what is known as Kamarang river' (PS Duck Story 018 <085.303>)

mai'kwak mōra'tai ji pandong be ka'pong
mai'kwak mōra'tai ji pandong pe ka'pong
duck at.that.time Emph story like person
N Adv? Prtcl N P N

be tok esh'pī
pe tok ejī -'pī
like 3Pl be -Past
P Pro Vintr -T/A2

'The duck, then was a person, they were all like this in the story' (PS Duck Story 019 <087.146>)

mōra'tai shi, mōra'tai ji
mōra'tai ji mōra'tai ji
at.that.time Emph at.that.time Emph

tīmainarīgong agidī tok a
t- maina -ri -gong agidī tok ya
3.Rfl- farm -Psd -Pl.Psr cut 3Pl Erg
Pers- N -Ninf1 -Nsfx Vtr Pro P

'Then at that time, they cut down their farms' (PS Duck Story 020 <091.492>)

kīrō togodogo ya ji tīmainarī agidī
kīrō togodogo ya ji t- maina -ri agidī
3Sg.Anim owl Erg Emph 3.Rfl- farm -PS d cut
Pro N P Prtcl Pers- N -Ninf1 Vtr

'The owl cut his farm' (PS Duck Story 021 <098.302>)

mai'kwak ya nōrō tīmainarī agidī
mai'kwak ya nōrō t- maina -ri agidī
duck Erg also 3.Rfl- farm -PS d cut
N P Adv? Pers- N -Ninf1 Vtr

'The duck also cut his farm' (PS Duck Story 022 <101.186>)

mōra'tai shi dō
mōra'tai ji dō
at.that.time Emph Emph
Adv? Prtcl Prtcl

'Then at that time' (PS Duck Story 023 <103.339>)
'The duck was a very serious one, he was a serious champion' (PS Duck Story 024 <105.172>)

'Better than the owl' (PS Duck Story 025 <110.850>)

'The owl would just sit here, then he cut down one tree' (PS Duck Story 026 <112.222>)

'He would just rest there on top of a piece of tree stump' (PS Duck Story 027 <116.598>)

'Waiting for night to fall' (PS Duck Story 028 <119.532>)

'He would cut down one tree' (PS Duck Story 029 <121.125>)

'Then he sits on top of the top of the tree stump, waiting for the night to fall' (PS Duck Story 030 <123.297>)
sairō ku wōi enazak a'tai... haing tenna'podo'pe
sairō kuru wōi ena -zak a'tai haing t- enna'po -do'pe
here Emph sun become -Perf when drama 3.Rfl- return -Purp
Adv Prtcl N Vint -T/A2 Conj? SW Pers- Vintr -Vinfl

'So that he can go home, when the sun has really reached
here (PS Duck Story 031 126.934>)

kirō ning mai'kwak eji mōrō ōsōbe shiyampiyyan be
kirō ning mai'kwak eji mōrō özō -be shiyampiyyan pe
38g.Anim Emph duck be A.I.? serious -Attr champion like
Pro Prtcl N Vintr ? N -Azr N P

ning shi shenubasak be yeshi
ning y- eji i- zenuba -zak pe y- eji
Emph 3- be 3- learn -Perf like 3- be
Prtcl Pers- Vintr Pers- Vintr -T/A2 P Pers- Vintr

'But the duck is really a very serious one, he is a champion
because he is one that is trained' (PS Duck Story 032 130.087>)

timiyā ge ye'kama bennō, ō'rō
t- emiya ke y- e'kama beng -nō ō'rō
3.Rfl- hand Instr 3- prepare Neg -Emph what
Pers- N P Pers- Vintr Neg -Prtcl WH

gle rōnamo migi ye'trawasoma
ke rōnamo migi y- e'- trawazoma
Instr uncrtm Hes 3- Detr- work
P Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Intr- Vintr

'He does not use his hand, I do not know how he worked' (PS Duck Story
033 133.243>)

a.. a.. pise tok ewo'pi nosamishi
a a pize tok ewo'pi nosami'chi
ah ah this.Anim 3Pl mother.in.law old
Hes Hes Pro Pro N N

pada bong ning ji tok ewo'pi
pada po -ng ning ji tok ewo'pi
place Loc -Nzr Emph Emph 3Pl mother.in.law
N P -Nzr Prtcl Prtcl Pro N

'Then here is their mother-in-law an old woman who was at home,
their mother-in-law' (PS Duck Story 034 137.838>)

mai'kwak ye'kabī migī sa'ne
mai'kwak yebī -gabī migī sa'ne
duck come -Cmpltv Hes Emph
N Vint -Asp Prtcl Prtcl
The duck came back, he had done his work' (PS Duck Story 035 <147.423>)

He had already cut down his farm' (PS Duck Story 036 <150.457>)

Sometimes that like Emph Emph that

He would cleared his own big field' (PS Duck Story 037 <152.090>)

He would cut down his big farm' (PS Duck Story 038 <155.965>)

Then the duck would journey back before the owl' (PS Duck Story 039 <159.060>)

The duck came back from his farm' (PS Duck Story 040 <165.038>)

He had already worked' (PS Duck Story 041 <167.071>)
möröbang reba mígí tok ewo'pí ya
möröbang reba mígí tok ewo'pí ya
thereafter give Hes 3Pl mother.in.law Erg
N Vtr Prtcl Pro N P

'Then the mother-in-law give this one who is like that' (PS Duck Story 042 <169.184>)

kírö no'sangshì ya
kírö no'sami'chi ya
3Sg.Anim old Erg
Pro N P

'By she the old woman' (PS Duck Story 043 <174.402>)

a'sogo'pō ge mígí irebaiya
a'sogo'pō ke mígí i- reba -i -ya
leavings Instr Hes 3- give -3 -Erg
N P Prtcl Pers- Vtr -Pers -Agr

'She gives (hesitation) the leavings of sifted cassava flour' (PS Duck Story 044 <176.033>)

mai'kwak rebaiya, inta'napaiya
mai'kwak reba -i -ya inda'naba -i -ya
duck give -3 -Erg feed -3 -Erg
N Vtr -Pers -Agr Vtr -Pers -Agr

'She gives the duck, she feeds him' (PS Duck Story 045 <179.709>)

ewedíiya sa'shi ai'top! a'sogo'pō
ewedíi -i -ya sa'ji ai'top a'sogo'pō
feed -3 -Erg Emph slam.down leavings
Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl SW N

'She feeds him ai'top!(ssw sound of throwing an object on the ground) with the cassava leavings' (PS Duck Story 046 <182.863>)

kírö ji togodogo pada go'mani'ning
kírö ji togodogo pada ko'manígí -ning
3Sg.Anim Emph owl place keep -A.Nzr
Pro Prtcl N N Vtr -Nzr

ingurungnôbök ning te'seng
ingurum! -nôbök ning t- eji -zeng
stay.still -Prog Emph Adv- be -Abs.Nzr
Vintr -T/A3 Prtcl ?- Vintr -Nzr

'Then that owl the one who spent his time resting' (PS Duck Story 047) <186.940>

kírörö yebîk mígí seganbe yebî
kírö -rö yebi' -k mígí segan -be yebi
3Sg.Anim -Emph come -Style Hes second -Attr come
Pro -Prtcl Vint -? Prtcl N -Azr Vint

'He comes in second place' (PS Duck Story 048 <189.493>)
'Ai'top! She gives him the real cassava bread' (PS Duck Story 049 <193.780>)

'a'sogo'pō ge rō mai'kwak reba dībo
leavings Instr duck give after
N P Prtcl N Vtr Pos

'After giving the duck leavings of sifted cassava flour' (PS Duck Story 050 <196.604>)

'mōrō gaza rō tok go'mamī, mōrō gaza rō tok go'mamī
that like Emph 3Pl live that like Emph 3Pl live
Dem P Prtcl Pro Vintr Dem P Prtcl Pro Vintr

'They really lived like that, they really lived like that' (PS Duck Story 051 <199.728>)

'Haing! (expression absence of what existed) they got finished' (PS Duck Story 052 <203.694>)

'tok ne'nonggai
tok n- e' nongga -i
3Pl 3S- leave -RPS t
Pro Pers- Vtr -T/A1

'They left off (working)' (PS Duck Story 053 <206.979>)

'tok mainari na'kō ebo'tōbōdi'pī ji
tok maina -ri na'kō e' po'tō -bōdi -'pī ji
3Pl farm -PsD maybe Detr- fire -Iter -Past Emph
Pro N -Ninfl Adv Intr- Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Prtcl

'Their farms were probably burnt by then (PS Duck Story 054 <208.070>)

mai'kwak amōk mainari
mai'kwak amōk maina -ri
duck Pl farm -PS d
N Num N -Ninfl

'The farm of the ducks' (PS Duck Story 055 <212.267>)
'He burn it then' (PS Duck Story 056 <214.660>)

'mainari' shi
i- maina -ri ji
3- farm -PS d Emph
Pers- N -Ninfl Prtcl

'Hiss farm' (PS Duck Story 057 <216.993>)

e'tane shi turonggong a, turonggong a
e'tane ji turonnō -gong ya turonnō -gong ya
so Emph another -Pl Erg another -Pl Erg
PRTCL? Prtcl N -Nsfx P N -Nsfx P

shi migi mōrō mai'kwak mainari' ene'pi
ji migi mōrō mai'kwak maina -ri ene -'pi
Emph Hes that duck farm -PS d see -Past
Prtcl Prtcl Dem N N -Ninfl V -T/A2

Then other people, the other people saw the duck's farm' (PS Duck Story 058 <218.526>)

ekepe kiyari, ekepe rō kiyari, ekepe rō kiyari,
egge -be kiyari ege -be rō kiyari ege -be rō kiyari
big -Attr food big -Attr Emph food big -Attr Emph food
N -Azr N N -Azr Prtcl N N -Azr Prtcl N

'It had plenty food, large amount of food crops, large amounts of food crops' (PS Duck Story 059 <225.325.1>)

ekepe rō a'naik e'kwa ning ti'tuik pra rō
egge -be rō a'naik e'kwa ning t- i'tu -ze bra rō
big -Attr Emph corn field Emph Adv- know -Prtclpl Neg Emph
N -Azr Prtcl N N Prtcl ?- Vtr -Vder Neg Prtcl

'There were a huge amount of fields with corn and many other crops' (PS Duck Story 060 <225.325.2>)

a.. kīrō ning migi mōrō mai'kwak
a kīrō ning migi mōrō mai'kwak
ah 3Sg.Anim Emph Hes that duck
Hes Pro Prtcl Prtcl Dem N

manengbazai'ya mōrō
manengba -zak -i -ya mōrō
make.angry -Perf -3 -Erg A.I.?
Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr?

'She had already made the duck angry' (PS Duck Story 061 <231.224>)
no'sangshi  a
no'sami'chi ya
old  Erg
N  P

'The old woman did' (PS Duck Story 062 <239.565>)

a'sogo'pō ge  te'kiyari'tōik,
a'sogo'pō ke  t-  e'-  kiyari'tō -ze
leavings  Instr  Adv-  Detr-  feed  -Prtcpl
N  P  ?-  Intr-  Vtr  -Vder

jagorobazai'ya
1-  sagoroba  -zak  -i  -ya
3-  make.angry  -Perf  -3  -Erg
Pers-  Vtr  -T/A2  -Pers  -Agr

'She made him angry by feeding him with the leavings of sifted cassava flour' (PS Duck Story 063 <240.418>)

anembai  ta'pi  sii  pi'ze
an-  ene  -bai  ta  -'pi  ji  pi'ze
30.Desid-  see  -Desid  say  -Past  Emph  this.Anim
Pers-  V  -Vdrv  Vtr  -T/A2  Prtcpl  Pro

tok  ewo'pi  nosamishi  ya  mōrō
tok  ewo'pi  no'sami'chi  ya  mōrō
3Pl  mother.in.law  old  Erg  A.I.?  Pro  N  N  P  ?

'I want to see it said the old woman, the mother-in-law' (PS Duck Story 064 <244.102>)

abine  kuru  maina  anembai
abine  kuru  maina  an-  ene  -bai
wait  Emph  farm  30.Desid-  see  -Desid
Vimp  Prtcpl  N  Pers-  V  -Vdrv

e'aik  tabe,  ense'na  dōgābi  zerō
eji  -aik  tabe  ene  -ze'na  tō  -gābi  serō
be  -Pres  Style  see  -Purp  go  -Cmpltv  S.I.
Vintr  -T/A1  Prtcpl  V  -VDer  Vintr  -Asp  Prtcpl

'Wait, I really would like to see the farm, I think I will go and see it now' (PS Duck Story 065 <248.089>)

tarīk,  īndōī
tarīk  n-  tō  -i  
go.off  3S-  go  -RPst
SW  Pers-  Vintr  -T/A1

'Tarīk!(expressing someone taking off on foot to go somewhere in a hurry) she went' (PS Duck Story 066 <250.872>)
'The partner who accompanied her was small, maybe she was a small girl' (PS Duck Story 067 <252.636>)

tok dō'pì

tok tō  -'pì
3Pl go  -Past
Pro Vintr  -T/A2

'They went' (PS Duck Story 068 <256.179>)

mīra'tai  da'pī  mai'kwak a
mōra'tai  ta  -'pī  mai'kwak ya
at.that.time  say  -Past duck  Erg
Adv?  Vtr  -T/A2  N  P

'Then said the duck' (PS Duck Story 069 <257.703>)

no'sangshi  bōk
no'samī'chi  pōk
old  to
N  P

'To the old woman' (PS Duck Story 070 <261.148>)

shiya  kuru  kadōi  ya  shiya
chiya  kuru  k-  tō  -i  ya  chiya
far.away  Emph  2S.Vet-  go  -Vet  Emph  far.away
Adv?  Prtcl  Pers-  Vintr  -Imp  Prtcl  Adv?

kuru  mīgi  chiyang...!  abro'pona  kadōi
kuru  mīgi  chiya  -ng  abro'pona  k-  tō  -i
Emph  Hes  far.away  -Style  into.the.middle.of  2S.Vet-  go  -Vet
Prtcl  Prtcl  Adv?  -?  P  Pers-  Vintr  -Imp

'Do not venture deep and far away into the farm, don't go to the centre of it' (PS Duck Story 071 <262.831>)

mōrau  kwō  rō  eji'ma  meneik
mōrau  rī'kwō  rō  eji  -i'ma  mī-  ene  -ik
there  Dim  Emph  be  -While  2A-  see  -Med.Imp
Adv  Adv?  Prtcl  Vintr  -?  Pers-  V  -Imper

'You must stay right over there and view it' (PS Duck Story 072 <268.078>)
'The field of food crops is like that' (PS Duck Story 073 <270.862>):

'miŋi mō'
miŋi mōrō
Hes that
Prctl Dem

(hesitation) that (PS Duck Story 074 <272.444>):

'...tiyemiya ge biōnsai'ya bennō
a t- emiya ke i- pōmī -zak -i -ya beng -nō
ah 3.Rfl- hand Instr 3- plant -Perf -3 -Erg Neg -Emph
Hes Pers- N P Pers- Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Neg -Prtc1
'He had not planted it with his own hands' (PS Duck Story 075 <274.627>):

'mōrō miŋi ō'rō gaza rō namo biōnsai'ya
mōrō miŋi ō'rō kaza rō namo i- pōmī -zak -i -ya
that Hes what like Emph Uncrntnty 3- plant -Perf -3 -Erg
Dem Prctl WH P Prctl Prctl Pers- Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'I really do not know how he planted it, like that' (PS Duck Story 076 <277.552>):

'opiya ge rō namo ō'rō ge rōgeng
obiya ke rō namo ō'rō ke rōgeng
voodoo Instr Emph Uncrntnty what Instr only
N P Prctl Prctl WH P Prctl

'Maybe through witchcraft, I do not know with what' (PS Duck Story 077 <280.936>):

'mōra' tai kīrō no'sanshi
mōra'tai Kirō no'sami'chi
at.that.time 3Sg.Anim old
Adv? Pro N

'dōga'pī shi maina ak
tō -gabī -'pī ji maina yak
go -CompTV -Past Emph farm into
Vintr -Asp -T/A2 Prctl N P

'Then she the old woman went into the farm' (PS Duck Story 078 <283.541>):

'abine mirau e'kō
abine mōrau eji -gō
wait there be -Imper
Vimp Adv Vintr -T/A

'Wait! you stay there' (PS Duck Story 079 <288.326>):
"She said to her partner, wait and be there" (PS Duck Story 080 <290.451>)

e’tane ingge ji’pi, ingge
e’tane ingge y- eji -’pi ingge
but long.time 3- be -Past long.time
PRTCL? Adv Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Adv

ji’pi, ingge ji’pi,
y- eji -’pi ingge y- eji -’pi
3- be -Past long.time 3- be -Past
Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Adv Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Adv

ingge ji’pi, ingge ji’pi
ingge y- eji -’pi ingge y- eji -’pi
long.time 3- be -Past long.time 3- be -Past
Adv Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Adv Pers- Vintr -T/A2

"But then, she spent a long time, she spent a long time, she spent a long time" (PS Duck Story 081 <294.154>)

kirō no’sanshi esh’pi ingge
kirō no’sami’chi eji -’pi ingge
3Sg.Anim old be -Past long.time
Pro N Vintr -T/A2 Adv

chiya maina ya ji giororo’kasak
chiya maina ya ji i- kororo’ka -zak
far.away farm Erg Emph 3- envelop -Perf
Adv? N P Prtcl Pers- Vtr -T/A2

"She the old woman spent a long time there, because the farm had enclosed her" (PS Duck Story 082 <298.142>)

ko’koi... oow! ko’koi... oow! ko’koi...
ko’koi oow ko’koi oow ko’koi
grandma answer grandma answer grandma
Voc SW Voc SW Voc

oow! mörö bök rö itō
oow mörö pök rö i- tō
answer that occupied.with Emph 3- go
SW Dem P Prtcl Pers- Vintr

Grandma! She shouted oow! She answered, then she kept shouting grandma!... oow! She answered and she kept on going (PS Duck Story 083 <300.504>)
'haing!(expression describing sudden absence) then her partner in a similar manner went after her and also got lost' (PS Duck Story 084 <311.301>)

tok ïndano'mai
tok n- tano'ma -i 3Pl 3S- get.lost -RPst Pro Pers- Vintr -T/A1

'They got lost' (PS Duck Story 085 <317.208>)

kïrïo mai'kwak sagorobasai'ya
kïrïo mai'kwak sagoroba - zak - i - ya
Pro N Vtr - T/A2 - Pers - Agr

mogrï, iwobiya'masai'ya ning mogrï
mogrï i- wobiya'ma - zak - i - ya ning mogrï
A.I.? 3- curse - Perf - 3 - Erg Emph A.I.?
? Pers- Vtr - T/A2 - Pers - Agr Prtcl ?

'Now she had made the duck angry, so he had really cursed her with witchcraft' (PS Duck Story 086 <318.822>)

a.. weruji be no'sanshi dö mogrï, eruwô
a weruji pe no'sami'chi tô mogrï eruwô
ah dove like old go A.I.? small.dove
Hes N P N Vintr ?

kïrïo ri'kwô ne'pô'ai'nek pe wishagong
kïrïo ri'kwô n- eji - bôdï - aik - nek pe ijaqong
3Sg.Anim Dim 3S- be - Hab - Pres - Rel like partner

'The old woman turn into a dove and that is how she kept going and her partner went as an eruwô(smaller species of dove) bird' (PS Duck Story 087 <324.077>)

mogrï rôngeng nôning gia'nô ku bennô ning
mogrï rôngeng nôning gia'nô kuru beng - nô ning
that only only tasty Emph Neg - Emph Emph
Dem Prtcl Prtcl N Prtcl Neg - Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

'That is all and it is not very sweet' (PS Duck Story 088 <330.379>)
ewaik e'tane wagï berô ji
ewaik e'tane wagï pe -rô y- eji
yes but good like -Emph 3- be
Prtc1? PRTCL? N P -Prtc1 Pers- Vintr

<Interviewer> 'Okay but it is very good' (PS Duck Story 089 <334.832>)

3. RA Eagle Story

migï ganang pandong bek i'tuning amô
migï kanang pandong bek i'tu -ning amô
this again story QP know -A.Nzr 2SgQ
Pro Adv? N Prtc1 Vtr -Nzr Pro?
t'i'tuik pra rô? tu'ke rï'kwô rô,
t- i'tu -ze bra rô tu'ke rï'kwô rô
Adv- know -Prtc1l Neg Emph many Dim Emph
?- Vtr -Vder Neg Prtc1l Quant Adv? Prtc1

pandong bek i'tuning amô? wagïdong sa'ne
pandong bek i'tu -ning amô wagï -dong sa'ne
story QP know -A.Nzr 2SgQ good -Pl Emph
N Prtc1l Vtr -Nzr Pro? N -Nsfx Prtc1

bandomiigong te'seng
pandong -i -gong t- eji -zeng
story -Psd -Pl.Psr Adv- be -Abs.Nzr
N -Ninfl -Nsfx ?- Vintr -Nzr

<Interviewer> 'Do you now all types of stories, do you know many stories. We have wonderful stories' (RA Eagle Story 001 <0.000>)

i'tuning bennô bek amô? pandong?
i'tu -ning beng -nô bek amô pandong
know -A.Nzr Neg -Emph QP 2SgQ story
Vtr -Nzr Neg -Prtc1l Prtc1l Pro? N

<Interviewer> 'Do you not know stories?'(RA Eagle Story 002 <9.725>)

pandong, pandong sa'ji egamabõkning kuru mararô
pandong pandong sa'ne jì egama -bôdï -ning kuru mararô
story story Emph Emph tell -Iter -A.Nzr Emph little.bit
N N Prtc1l Prtc1l Vtr -Asp -Nzr Prtc1l N

kuru migï ne'pô'tai, waga ning
kuru migï n- eji -bôdï -tai waga ning
Emph Hes 3S- be -Iter -Med.Past Waga Emph
Prtc1l Prtc1l Pers- V -Asp -T/A1 Name Prtc1l

'There was one Waga who use to tell a bit of stories' (RA Eagle Story 003 <11.837>)
'Well, there is a place somewhere here called karuwa'tōi, karuwa'tōi is a savannah' (RA Eagle Story 004 <19.078>)

'mora'tai wa'ka ye'tōdok e'pōdi'pi
mora'tai wa'ka ye'tō -dok ejī -bōdī -'pi
at.that.time axe sharpen -Nzr be -Iter -Past
Adv? N Vtr -Nzr V -Asp -T/A2

'At that time, there was a place where the axe was sharpened, so they say' (RA Eagle Story 005 <24.756>)

tōk!... wa'ka ye'tōdok
tōk wa'ka ye'tō -dok
rock axe sharpen -Nzr
N N Vtr -Nzr

'It was a rock which was used to sharpen the axe' (RA Eagle Story 006 <29.333>)

RA Eagle Story 007 <31.266>
sik, sik, sik, sik kirigiri bra tok
sik sik sik sik kirigiri bra tok
sharpen sharpen sharpen sharpen file Neg 3Pl
SW SW SW SW N Neg Pro

e'pōdi'pi morau pairu bra sa'ne tōk ri'kwō e'pōdi'pi
ejī -bōdī -'pi morau pairu bra sa'ne tōk ri'kwō ejī -bōdī -'pi
be -Iter -Past there file Neg Emph rock Dim be -Iter -Past
V -Asp -T/A2 Adv N Neg Prtcl N Adv? V -Asp -T/A2

'Sik! sik! sik!(SSW) they did not have a file, so the rock is what they use to use' (RA Eagle Story 006 <29.333>)

mora'tai ji emujimō e'pōdi'pi sairō
mora'tai ji emujimō ejī -bōdī -'pi sairō
at.that.time Emph eagle be -Iter -Past here
Adv? Prtcl N V -Asp -T/A2 Adv
'At that time there was an eagle here on the mountain, a big eagle that one' (RA Eagle Story 008 <35.142>)

RA Eagle Story 011 <48.371>

emujimø... ah... önik airö kírörö migí
emujimø ah önik airö kírö -rò migí
eagle ah who sympathy 3Sg.Anim -Cop? Hes
N Interj WH Prtcl Pro -? Prtcl

'eagle ah...who is it again? (Hes)' (RA Eagle Story 010 <47.660>)

RA Eagle Story 012

torong? egebe te'seng
torong ege -be t- eji -seng
bird big -Attr Adv- be -Abs.Nzr
N N -Azr ?- V -Nzr

'It is a bird that is big' (RA Eagle Story 013)

eagle
eagle
eagle
N

'eagle' (RA Eagle Story 014)

eagle kírörö kuru tok abödì'pì
eagle kírö -rò kuru tok arò -bödì -'pì
eagle 3Sg.Anim -Cop? Emph 3Pl carry -Iter -Past
N Pro -? Prtcl Pro Vtr -Asp -T/A2

'It was really the eagle that use to take them away' (RA Eagle Story 015)
haing! turonño, turonño tok
haing turonño turonño tok
sudden.absence another another 3Pl
SW N N Pro

abōdīya, tok pōk rō yenda'nambōdī'pī sa'ne
arō -bōdī -i -ya tok pōk rō i- enda'na -bōdī -'pī sa'ne
carry -Iter -3 -Erg 3Pl WRT Emph 3- eat -Iter -Past Emph
Vtr -Asp -Pers -Agr Pro P Prtc1 Pers-Vintr -Asp -T/A2 Prtc1

'haing! another, another he took them, he use to eat them' (RA Eagle Story 016 <56.372>)

mōra'tai ji turonño a ö'rō beji
mōra'tai ji turonño ya ö'rō pe ji
at.that.time Emph another Erg what like Emph
Adv? Prtc1 N P WH P Prtc1

yeji mō ta'pī turonño a mōrō
y- eji mōrō ta -'pī turonño ya mōrō
3- be A.I.? say -Past another Erg A.I.?
Pers- V ? Vtr -T/A2 N P ?

'At that time another said what is wrong with him?' (RA Eagle Story 017 <63.193>)

eh, eh! ö'rō be ji ji mō
eh eh ö'rō pe ji y- eji mōrō
yes yes what like Emph 3- be that
Prtc1 Prtc1 WH P Prtc1 Pers-Vintr Dem

tawong ku es'pī mōrō mōra'tai
ta -wong kuru eji -'pī mōrō mōra'tai
say -Nzr/Rel? Emph be -Past A.I.? at.that.time
Vtr -nzr Prtc1 V -T/A2 ? Adv?

'There was one who said, what is wrong with him at that time' (RA Eagle Story 018 <67.028>)

mīgī sa'ne ji tok u'ma'kabī kirō
mīgī sa'ne ji tok u'madī -gabī kirō
this Emph Emph 3Pl deplete -Cmpltv 3Sg.Anim
Pro Prtc1 Prtc1 Pro Vtr -Asp Pro

torong ya tok u'madī ya engmingga'pī
torong ya tok u'madī ya engmingga -'pī
bird Erg 3Pl finish Erg make.think -Past
N P Pro Vtr P Vtr -T/A2

'The numbers of the people were depleting because the bird was finishing them off, this made him think' (RA Eagle Story 019 <70.164>)

piya'sang be na'kō ne'tai
piya'sang pe na'kō n- eji -tai
shaman like maybe 3S- be -Med.Past
N P Adv Pers- V -T/A1
önükpe rögeng ne' tai
önik -be rögeng n- eji -tai
who -Attr only 3S- be -Med.Past
WH -Azr Prtcl Pers- V -T/A1

'Maybe he was a shaman, I don't know who he was' (RA Eagle Story 020 <75.250>)

RA Eagle Story 021 <77.174>
mörat tai ji wa'ka yō'tōiya a'tai mīgi mörō
mörat tai ji wa'ka yō'tō -i -ya a'tai mīgi mörō
at.that.time Emph axe sharpen -3 -Erg while Hes that

'At that time while he was sharpening the axe it was (HES)' (RA Eagle Story 020 <75.250>)

diurumī mörō kirō piyang yebi a'tai
i- turumī mörō kirō piyang yebi a'tai
3- play A.I.? 3Sg.Anim hawk come when
Pers- Vintr ? Pro N Vint Conj?

kuru, wa'ka durumbōdi'pi
kuru wa'ka turumī -bōdi -'pi
Emph axe play -Iter -Past
Prtcl N Vintr -Asp -T/A2

'It played especially when the eagle was coming, the axe use to play' (RA Eagle Story 022 <81.940>)

sek, sek, sek, sek, kemu, chimu, samii, paning
sek sek sek sek kemu chimusamii paning
sharpen sharpen sharpen kemu chimusamii paning
SW SW SW SW SW SW SSW SW

dabōdi'piiya genik chi mörō eh.. eh
ta -bōdi -'pi -i -ya genik jī mörō eh eh
say -Iter -Past -3 -Erg specifically Emph A.I.? yes yes
Vtr -Asp -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl Prtcl ? Prtcl Prtcl

'Like this sek..sek..kemu..chimu..samii..paning(SSW) it use to say' (RA Eagle Story 023 <85.165>)

mörat tai kuru kirō yebi tugaik chi
mörat tai kuru kirō yebi tugaik jī
at.that.time Emph 3Sg.Anim come like.that Emph

tok a i'tuzak es'pi mörō
tok ya i'tu -zak eji -'pi mörō
3Pl Erg know -Perf be -Past A.I.?
Pro P Vtr -T/A2 V -T/A2 ?

'Then they really knew that the eagle was coming'
diezenu kwaik mōau ji diurumī ji mōrō
i- tezeru u- ka -aik mōrau ji i- turumī ji mōrō

'This was the custom I say, it use to play' (RA Eagle Story 025 <93.558>)

uuuup! yebib wa'ka ji dienubōgūrō
uuuup yebib wa'ka ji i- tenubōgūrō
flying come axe Emph 3- wait SW Vint N Prtcl Pers- Vintr

'u..u..u..up!(SSW) it came and the axe was there waiting for it' (RA Eagle Story 026 <95.699>)

tōōp! a'chi'piya ji mōrō
tōōp a'chi -'pī -i -ya ji mōrō
grab catch -Past -3 -Erg Emph A.I.? SW Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl ?

'Tō..ōp!(SSW) he hold him then' (RA Eagle Story 027 <98.606>)

narōi.... wīk pona
n- arō -i wīk pona
3A30- carry -RPst mountain to Pers- Vtr -T/A1 N P

'He took him to the mountain' (RA Eagle Story 028 <100.786>)

chi'tok!... dia'chidane dia'tu'ma
chi'tok i- d- a'chi -dane d- a'tu'ma
push.off 3- Detr- hold -while i- Detr- push SW Pers- Intr- Vtr -T/A2? 3- Pers- Intr- Vtr

wa'ka ebu ge chi'tok!... pow, pow, pow,
wa'ka ebu ke chi'tok pow pow pow
axe handle Instr push.off wing.beat wing.beat wing.beat N N P SW SW SW

pow, pow hōp!
pow pow hōp
wing.beat wing.beat take.off SW SW SW

'chi'tok!(SSW) while he was holding on to the mountain, he was pushed by the axe handle, 'chi'tok!', pow, pow, pow, pow, pow (sound of flying), hōp! (sound of taking off again)' (RA Eagle Story 029 <104.394>)

mairō narōi wīk pona ganang
mairō n- arō -i wīk pona kanang
over.there 3A30- carry -RPst mountain to again Adv Pers- Vtr -T/A1 N P Adv?

'He took him to another mountain again' (RA Eagle Story 030 <111.161>)
'while he was going chi'tok! he pushed himself again (RA Eagle Story 031 <112.445>)

hōp! dioimabōdiiya tamboro
hōp i- toima -bōdī -i -ya tamboro
take.off 3- rotate -Iter -3 -Erg all
SW Pers- Vtr -Asp -Pers -Agr Adv

mōrō wik tong amōk yarekadaneiya
mōrō wūk -dōng amōk yareka -dane -i -ya
that mountain -P1 P1 finish -while -3 -Erg
Dem N -Nsfx Num Vtr -T/A2? -Pers -Agr

-tōtōk i'tuiya bra ji mōrāu ta tok a
3.Rfl- go -Nsr know -3 -Erg Neg Emph there say 3Pl Erg
Pers- Vintr -Nsr Vtr -Pers -Agr Neg Prtcl Adv Vtr Pro P

'hōp! He took him round and round all the mountains, but he did not know where he was going then, they say' (RA Eagle Story 032 <115.898>)

e'tane sairō jī nong bo se ji mōrō
e'tane sairō jī nong po se ji mōrō
however here Emph earth on this Emph that

'However, on this earth, this is what..' (RA Eagle Story 033 <121.218>)

Enebōro'pī se wik ezek Enebōro'pī
Enebōro'pī se wik ezek Enebōro'pī
Enebōro'pī this mountain name Enebōro'pī
N Dem.Pro N N N

'The name of this mountain was Enebōro'pī' (RA Eagle Story 034 <123.588>)

mōra'tai ku ji ye'pī mōrōk pōw! dia'mo'ka
mōra'tai kuru ji ye'bī -'pī mōrō -ng pōw i- ta'mo'ka
at.that.time Emph Emph come -Past A.I.? -Style crash 3- fall.down
Adv? Prtcl Prtcl Vint -T/A2? -? SW Pers- Vintr

'Then he came down pōw!(SSW) he fell down' (RA Eagle Story 035 <126.226>)

yabō'ka'sak sa'ji airō,
y- abō'kabī -zak sa'ne ji airō
3- tire -Perf Emph Emph sympathy
Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

'He(eagle) was then really very tired' (RA Eagle Story 036 <129.747>)
môrôbang ji wa'ka mire ji dienau
môrôbang ji wa'ka mire ji i- enau
thereafter Emph axe child Emph 3- in.hand
N Prtcl N N Prtcl Pers- P

kirô migî kôik es'pi môrô, kôik shi es'pi
kirô migî kôik eji-'pî môrô kôik ji eji-'pî
3Sg.Anim Hes old.man be -Past A.I.? old.man Emph be -Past
Pro Prtcl N V -T/A2 ? N Prtcl V -T/A2

"Then, the old man who was taken away by the eagle was holding on to
the axe" (RA Eagle Story 037 <132.155>)

môra'tai ji kirô ji piyang
môra'tai ji kirô ji piyang
at.that.time Emph 3Sg.Anim Emph hawk
Adv? Prtcl Pro Prtcl N

abô'ka'sai'ya tabiri aranggasak
abô'kabî -zak -i -ya t- abiri arangga -zak -i -ya -k
tire -Perf -3 -Erg 3.Rfl wing unfold -Perf -3 -Erg -Style
Vintr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Pers- N Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr -?

"At that time, the tired giant hawk open up his wings (RA Eagle Story
038 <136.978>)

oik! kirôrô ya ji wa'ka anumî
oik kirô -rô ya ji wa'ka anumî
Anticip 3Sg.Anim -Emph Erg Emph axe take
SW Pro -Prtcl P Prtcl N Vtr

dienawong sa'ji
i- enau -ng sa'ne ji
3- in.hand -Nzr Emph Emph
Pers- P -Nzr Prtcl Prtcl

"oik! He then took the axe that was in his hands" (RA Eagle Story 039
<141.648>)

doh!... yabiri i'kwôdî'pî ji môrô doh!... yabiri
doh y- abiri i'kwôdî-'pî ji môrô doh y- abiri
break 1- wing break -Past Emph A.I.? break 3- wing
SW Pers- N Vtr -T/A2 Prtcl ? SW Pers- N

Doh!... (SSW) the old man broke its wings with the axe doh!(SSW) (RA
Eagle Story 040 <144.148>)

haing... diôdok pra
haing i- tô -dok bra
sudden.absence 3- go -Nzr Neg
SW Pers- Vintr -Nzr Neg

"Haing! leaving with nothing to get away" (RA Eagle Story 041
<147.657>)
móżō ji ye'pī tawong móżō
móżō ji yebī -'pī ta -wong móżō
that Emph come -Past say -Nzr/Rel? that
Dem Prtcl Vint -T/A2 Vtr -nzr Dem

'Then the man came away, that is what is said' (RA Eagle Story 042 <148.874>)

oh oh
oh oh
okay okay
Prtcl? Prtcl?

<Interviewer> 'oh!..oh!' (RA Eagle Story 043 <151.393>)

móżō gaza kuru tok mĩģī mō tok a
móżō kaza kuru tok mĩģī móżō tok ya
that like Emph 3Pl Hes that 3Pl Erg
Dem P Prtcl Pro Prtcl Dem Pro P

egama'pī dauya ning
egama -'pī ta -u -ya ning
tell -Past say -1 -Erg Emph
Vtr -T/A2 Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl

'That is really how they told it, that is what I am saying' (RA Eagle Story 044 <153.700>)

4. RA Kone'o Story
4a. Kone'o, Tiger and the River Nuts

kone'o egarei bra rō
kone'o egare -i bra rō
rabbit story -Psd Neg Emph
N N -Ninfl Neg Prtcl

<Interviewer> 'Is there not a kone'o story?' (RA Kone'o Story 001 <0.000>)

kone'o egarei, kone'o egarei eji mörō
kone'o egare -i kone'o egare -i eji mörō
rabbit story -Psd rabbit story -Psd be A.I.?
N N -Ninfl N N -Ninfl V ?

'A kone'o story?, well, a kone'o story is like that..' (RA Kone'o Story 002 <1.542>)

tok a egama be chi'tuaik
tok ya egama pe si- i'tu -aik
3Pl Erg tell like 1A- know -Pres
Pro P Vtr P Pers- Vtr -T/A1

'I am sure they have told this one' (RA Kone'o Story 003 <6.229>)
turoongong bek negamadai?
turoonnô -gong bek n- egama -dai
another -Pl QP 3A30- tell -Past
N -Nsfx Prtcl Pers- Vtr -T/A1

'Have other people told one?' (RA Kone'o Story 004 <7.330>)

kane. serô e'sara'tözak tijingno rô,
kane serô e'sara'tô -zak tijingno -no rô
no this start -Perf one -Nsr Emph
? Pro Vintr -T/A2 Num -Nsr Prtcl

<Interviewer> 'No, I have just started, tell me just one' (RA Kone'o Story 005 <9.113>)

tijingnô nedani ku ze tu'ke rô
tijingnô n- eda -nî kuru serô tu'ke rô
one O.Nsr- hear -Pres.Nsr Emph this many Emph
Num Nsr- Vtr -Nsr Prtcl Pro Quant Prtcl

'This is the only one I have heard, there are lots' (RA Kone'o Story 006 <9.956>)

e'tane, kone'o ezeru ege ne'pô'ang
e'tane kone'o ezeru ege n- eji -bôdî -ang
however rabbit ways big 3S- be -Hab -Pres
PRTCL? N N N Pers- V -Asp -T/A1

'However, there are lots of stories about kone'o' (RA Kone'o Story 007 <14.321>)

kone'o a mîgi môrô kabii u'ma'sak a'tai
kone'o ya mîgi môrô kabii u'madî -zak a'tai
rabbit Erg Hes that moon deplete -Perf when
N P Prtcl Dem N Vtr -T/A2 Conj?

ja'neng ingbô i'mozak gaza te'seng mô go
sa'ne -ng imbô i'mo -zak kaza t- eji -zeng môrô ko
Emph -Style soury.nut split -Perf like Adv- be -Abs.Nsr that Emph
Prtcl ? N Vtr -T/A2 P ?- Vintr -Nsr Dem Prtcl

'Kone'o did, do you know how the moon looks at month end, it looks like a, a sour nut that is cut in half' (RA Kone'o Story 008 <18.66>)

um... môrô i'mobôdiiya, kone'o a
um môrô i'mo -bôdî -i -ya kone'o ya
um that split -Hab -3 -Erg rabbit Erg
SW Dem Vtr -Asp -Pers -Agr N P

'This is the nut that kone'o was cracking' (RA Kone'o Story 009 <26.258>)

môra'tai ji kaiguze a eboro môrô kone'o
môra'tai ji kaiguji ya eboro môrô kone'o
at.that.time Emph jaguar Erg find that rabbit
Adv? Prtcl N P Vtr Dem N
ji eboroiya
ji ebor -i -ya
Emph find -3 -Erg
Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

'At that time the tiger came along and found him doing this' (RA Kone'o Story 010 <29.622>)

tuna’po ji tōk po
tuna’po ji tōk po
on.river.edge Emph rock on
PP Prtcl N P

'At the riverside sitting on a rock' (RA Kone'o Story 011 <33.128>)

ō’rō bōk aweji
ō’rō pōk a- eji
what occupied.with 2- be
WH P Pers- V

'What are you doing?' (RA Kone'o Story 012 <34.289>)

kane daya. im... i disregard imbō i'mozak
kane ta -i -ya im im -ng imbō i'mo -zak
no say -3 -Erg um um -Style soury.nut split -Perf
? Vtr -Pers -Agr Hes Hes -? N Vtr -T/A2

embōdiuwa gia’nō be ōguuwa daya
en. -bōdī -u -wa gia’nō pe ōgu -u -wa ta -i -ya
see -Hab -1 -Erg tasty like eat.nuts -1 -Erg say -3 -Erg
V -Asp -Pers -Agr N P Vtr -Pers -Agr Vtr -Pers -Agr

'No, I am cracking up some sour nuts and I am enjoying eating them, he said' (RA Kone'o Story 013 <35.612>)

kajibe turonnō rönin ōguiya
kaji -be turonnō nönin ōgu -i -ya
lie -Attr another only eat.nuts -3 -Erg
N -Azr N Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

mōrō, mōrō da’piya
mōrō mōrō ta -’pi -i -ya
A.I.? that say -Past -3 -Erg
? Dem Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'He lied, because he was eating something else but he said that' (RA Kone'o Story 014 <41.459>)

nai ji da’pi kaiguji ya mōrōng....
nai ji ta -’pi kaiguji ya mōrō -ng
where Emph say -Past jaguar Erg A.I.? -Style
N Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 N P ? -?
tuna sak enbõdîiya

tuna sa'ne ene -bõdî -i -ya
water Emph see -Hab -3 -Erg
N Prtcl V -Asp -Pers -Agr

'Where is it the tiger asked, there.. he said while looking into the water' (RA Kone'o Story 015 <44.104>)

ewaik ta'pîiya ji mõrô
ewaik ta -'pî -i -ya ji mõrô
yes say -Past -3 -Erg Emph A.I.? 
Prtcl? Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl?

'okay, he said' (RA Kone'o Story 016 <47.067>)

i'nau ji mõrô mõrôwenai dô mõrô
i'nau y- eji mõrô mõrôwenai tô mõrô
depth 3- be that that because go Fut
Adv Pers- V Dem Dem P Vintr Prtcl?

se bek mengyang, chi'nak chi
serõ bek mî- ene -ang chi'nak ji
this QP 2A- see -Pres bush. rope Emph
Pro Prtcl Pers- V -T/A1 N Prtcl

es'pî mõrô, tôk nõrô ege
eji -'pî mõrô tôk nõrô ege
be -Past A.I.? rock also big
V -T/A2 ? N Adv? N

'Kone'o said, "They are in the depth, but do you see this?" referring to some bush rope that was there and a huge stone' (RA Kone'o Story 017 <50.132>)

se ewa'tôuya i'mî bôk
serõ ewa'tô -u -ya I'mî pôk
this tie.up -1 -Erg neck on
Pro Vtr -Pers -Agr N P

'I tie this around my neck (RA Kone'o Story 018 <55.820>)

mõrâ'tai inggebra taim bra mõrô ya'mu
mõrâ'tai inggebra taim bra mõrô y- a'mu
at.that.time quickly time Neg that 3- depths
Adv? Adv N Neg Dem Pers- N

yak yarõîiya
yak y- arõ -i -ya
into 10- carry -3 -Erg
P Pers- Vtr -Pers -Agr

'Then it carries me down to the bottom of the river very quickly' (RA Kone'o Story 019 <56.901>)
'Then I will untie it and come out,' he said.' (RA Kone'o Story 020 <59.545>)

'So taste the nuts, taste the nuts he said' (RA Kone'o Story 021) <61.427>

'Then the tiger tasted the imbô nuts and they were very sweet' (RA Kone'o Story 022 <65.994>)

'Do you want me to tie you up? yes can I? he said to the tiger' (RA Kone'o Story 023 <73.645>)
'Alright, the tiger (said) to kone'o. 'kírik,' he tied him up, 'kírik,' with the stone' (RA Kone'o Story 024 <77.110>)

suruup! haing..... mörö rö diö'pī
suruup haing mörö rö i- tō -'pī .
go.under drama that Emph 3- go -Past
SW SW Dem Prtcl Pers- Vintr -T/A2

rō mörö, diö'pī mörö mörö stori mörö
rō mörö i- tō -'pī mörö mörö stori mörö
Emph A.I.? 3- go -Past A.I.? that story that
Prtcl ? Pers- Vintr -T/A2 ? Dem N Dem

'Su..ruu!haing(SSW) he went into the river never to be seen again, this is the story' (RA Kone'o Story 025 <82.017>)

mörö ji kone'o egarei
mörö ji kone'o egare -i
that Emph rabbit story -Psd
Dem Prtcl N N -Ninfl

'That is the kone'o story' (RA Kone'o Story 026 <89.988>)

4b. Kone'o, Tiger and the Split Testicles

kírik rōma ganang tok egama
kírik -rō rōma kanang tok egama
3sg. Anim -Emph also again 3pl tell
Pro -Prtcl ? Adv? Pro Vtr

sedadai mörö gaza rō
s- eda -dai mörö kaza rō
1a- hear -Past that like Emph
Pers- Vtr -T/A1 Dem P Prtcl

'I heard them telling a story about the same one again like this' (RA Kone'o Story 027 <91.731>)

mörö rō marō i'mobōdīiya
mörö -rō marō i'mo -bōdī -i -ya doh
that -Emph also split -Iter -3 -Erg break
Dem -Prtcl ?? Vtr -Asp -Pers -Agr SW

i'moiya ning, ku i'moiya
i'mo -i -ya ning kuru i'mo -i -ya
split -3 -Erg Emph Emph split -3 -Erg
Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr
'He was again cracking/bursting up the same imbō nuts
doh!(SSW), this was kone'o again cracking up these nuts' (RA Kone'o
Story 028 <95.196>)

'But wait, there was this fact that the tiger wanted to eat them
(kone'os) up (RA Kone'o Story 029 <100.484>)

'But it was during this time that kone'o was making him a fool' (RA
Kone'o Story 030 <102.246>)

'What are you busting up, he said' (RA Kone'o Story 031 <105.251>)

'My testicles, eh..heh..I am bursting up my testicles he then said'
(RA Kone'o Story 032 <107.434>)
me'ang? mörô ganang ...im....
mí- eji -ang mörô kanang im
2Sa- be -Pres that again um
Pers- V -T/A1 Dem Adv? Hes

'It is so? Do you want to see it? there it was again Im...' (RA Kone'o Story 033 <110.358>)

mörawong ji'kô ji ane ji
môraw -ng eji -gô ji ane ji
there -Nsr be -Imph Emph wait.Imp Emph
Adv -Nsr V -T/A Prtcl Vintr.Imp Prtcl

i'mouya enggô,
i'mo -u -ya ene -gô
split -1 -Erg see -Imph
Vtr -Pers -Agr V -T/A

'Stay where you are and watch me burst it' (RA Kone'o Story 034 <113.583>)

iwenairô genik ji mörô diemu
i- wenaï -rô genik ji mörô i- emu
3- close.to -Imph specifically Emph that 3- testicles
Pers- P -Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Dem Pers- N

wenairô i'mobôdiya mörô doh!... doh!
wenai -rô i'mo -bôdi -i -ya mörô doh doh
close.to -Imph split -Iter -3 -Erg A.I.? break break
P -Prtcl Vtr -Asp -Pers -Agr ? SW SW

warau.. sebang sa'ne
warau serô -be -ang sa'ne
open this -Attr -Nsr Emph
SW Pro -Azr -Nsr Prtcl

'He was bursting up the nuts very close to his testicles doh! doh!
warau! (it opened up) 'This is how it is done' (RA Kone'o Story 035 <115.805>)

abîne ji mîgî ayemu i'mogô
abîne ji mîgî a- emu i'mo -gô
wait Emph Hes 2- testicles split -Imper
Vimp Prtcl Prtcl Pers- N Vtr -T/A

ta'piya ning ji,
ta -'pi -i -ya ning ji
say -Past -3 -Erg Emph Emph
Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl Prtcl

'Wait, and now you burst your testicles, he (kone'o) said' (RA Kone'o Story 036 <120.773>)

hök!... doh! temu!... ai'tôu!
hök doh t- emu ai'tôu
Anticip break 3.Rfl- testicles fall.down.dead
SW SW Pers- N SW
'Hôk!...doh! He bursted up his testicles, again he had destroyed tiger' (RA Kone'o Story 037 <125.439>)

'môrô gaza diegaredong eji... im... mm
môrô gaza d-i egare -dong eji im mm
that like Detr- 3- story -Pl be um groan
Dem P Intr- Pers- N -Nsfx V Hes SW

'That is how all of his stories are îm...mm' (RA Kone'o Story 038 <129.245>)

'môrô ning mígî kone'o egarei
môrô ning mígî kone'o egare -i
that Emph Hes rabbit story -Psd
Dem Prtcl Prtcl N N -Ninfl

'That is the kone'o story' (RA Kone'o Story 039 <133.650>)

e'tane tu'ke ye'tane turonggong
e'tane tu'ke y- eji -dane turonnô -gong
although many 3- be -while another -Pl
PRTCL? Quant Pers- V -T/A2? N -Nsfx

biyau ning ji mang,
piyau ning ji mang
near.to Emph Emph 3.be.Pres
P Prtcl Prtcl Cop

'Although there are so many, they are with other people' (RA Kone'o Story 040 <136.015>)

ane tok a egamado'pe aza'rō ning
ane tok ya egama -do'pe aza'rō ning
wait.Imp 3Pl Erg tell -Purp two Emph
Vintr.Imp Pro P Vtr -Vinfl Num Prtcl

egamauya môrô îm... umm
egama -u -ya môrô îm um
tell -1 -Erg A.I.? um um
Vtr -Pers -Agr? Hes SW

'Wait and let them tell it, I have only told two îm...umm' (RA Kone'o Story 041 <137.666>)

4c. Monkey and Tiger

ane ji tiginnô
ane ji tiginnô
wait.Imp Emph one
Vintr.Imp Prtcl Num
<Interviewer> 'Wait, please tell another one, another one' (RA Kone'o Story 042 <140.581>)

'tingnanne eji möro monggi monggi ji iwarga
one item be A.I.? monkey monkey Emph monkey
N V ? N N N Prtcl N

sa'ne ji, iwarga eboro'pîya möro iwarga eboro
sa'ne ji iwarga eboro -'pî -i -ya möro iwarga eboro -i
Emph Emph monkey find -Past -3 -Erg A.I.? monkey find -RPst
Prtcl Prtcl N Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr ? N Vtr -T/A1

'One of them is the monkey, he found the monkey' (RA Kone'o Story 043 <145.257>)

'ô'rô bök eeji?
ô'rô pök a- eeji
what occupied with 2- be
WH P Pers - Vintr

ta'pîya kaiguse ya ganang ji möro kîrô bök ji
ta -'pî -i -ya kaiguse ya kanang ji möro kîrô pök ji
say -Past -3 -Erg jaguar Erg again Emph A.I.? 3Sg.Anim to Emph

'The tiger again said, 'what are you doing? to him' (RA Kone'o Story 044 <153.018>)

kane da'pîya ji möro
kane ta -'pî -i -ya ji möro
no say -Past -3 -Erg Emph A.I.?
? Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl ?

'No, he said' (RA Kone'o Story 045 <157.635>)

mi'gi be ingurumi da'pîya
mi'gi pe ingurumi ta -'pî -i -ya
this like stay still say -Past -3 -Erg
Pro P Vintr Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

sa'jî a'chise'na ji ye'sak inggebra
sa'ne ji a'chi ze'na ji yebi -zak inggebra
Emph Emph hold -Purp Emph come -Perf quickly
Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -VDer Prtcl Vint -T/A2 Adv

'Well, I am just staying put, he said. The tiger had come quickly
to grab him' (RA Kone'o Story 046 <159.027>)
I am going to eat you said the tiger to the monkey, I am going to eat you' (RA Kone'o Story 047 <165.146>)

No, you cannot because I am thin he said' (RA Kone'o Story 048 <171.124>)

The monkey said, I am thin therefore you can never eat me' (RA Kone'o Story 049 <172.837>)

'Over there, the one like that one carries, the branch that is hanging down although it is still high' (RA Kone'o Story 050 <177.593>)
'If you throw me over there, if you throw me (HES)' (RA Kone'o Story 051 <181.730>)

da'mo'kazak a'tai egebe guajida
ta'mo'ka -zak a'tai ege -be u- kajida
fall.down -Perf if big -Attr 1- get.fat
Vintr -T/A2 Conj? N -Azr Pers- Vintr

mō da'piya
mōrō ta -'pi -i -ya
Put say -Past -3 -Erg
Prtcl? Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'When I fall there I will get fat and big he said' (RA Kone'o Story 052 <184.753>)

ane ji yeno'magō oroik!
ane ji y- eno'ma -go oroik
wait.Imp Emph 10- throw -Imper take.out
Vintr. Imp Prtcl Pers- Vtr -T/A SW

kaiguji ya ong.... migi sa'ji iwarga ya
kaiguji ya ong migi sa'ne ji iwarga ya
jaguar Erg throw Hes Emph Emph monkey Erg
N P SW Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl N P

ji da kaiguze bōk kuru
ji ta kaiguji pōk kuru
Emph say jaguar to Emph
Prtcl Vtr N P Prtcl

'Throw me now the monkey said to the tiger, oroik! (SSW an aggressive lift) the tiger lift him up and threw him away ong! (SSW)' (RA Kone'o Story 053 <187.138>)

piuu!.... monggi sa'ji eno'maiya sa'ji
piuu monggi sa'ne ji eno'ma -i -ya sa'ne ji
fly monkey Emph Emph throw -3 -Erg Emph Emph
SW N Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl Prtcl

'Piuu! (SSW, sound made by the monkey travelling through the air) he threw the poor monkey' (RA Kone'o Story 054 <196.289>)

diop! ege'pe migi iwarga ji ch'i pok migi mōrō a'saruda
diop ege -be migi iwarga ji ch'i pok migi mōrō a'saruda
fall! big -Attr Hes monkey Emph body.hair Hes that swell
SW N -Azr Prtcl N Prtcl N Prtcl Dem Vintr

'diop! (SSW sound made by the fall of the monkey) as the monkey fell, all his hair stood on ends making him look fat' (RA Kone'o Story 055 <200.648>)
'The tiger was looking at him and said, 'it is really true then,' he said' (RA Kone'o Story 056 <206.304>)

aburōiya sa'ji airō
aburō -i -ya sa'ne ji airō
believe -3 -Erg Emph Emph sympathy
Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

'He truly believe it then' (RA Kone'o Story 057 <209.461>)

chiya barō inakatak
chiya barō i- nagata -k
far.away more 3- top -Style
Adv? Compar Pers- N -?

yenō'mazau'ya a'tai, mōrendai
y- enō'ma -zak -au -ya a'tai mōrō endai
10- throw -Perf -2 -Erg if that bigger
Pers- Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Conj? Dem P

ku eji mōrō ta'piya ji mōrō
kuru eji mōrō ta -'pi -i -ya ji mōrō
Emph be Fut say -Past -3 -Erg Emph A.I.? 
Prtcl V Prtcl? Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl ?

'Then the monkey continued, 'if you throw me further away near to the head [of the river], I will become even fatter he said' RA Kone'o Story 058 <210.450>)

kuwō ewai na'kō airō mō
kuwō ewai na'kō airō mō
oh.my yes maybe sympathy Uncrt
Prtcl Prtcl? Adv Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

'Oh my, yes maybe this is true' (RA Kone'o Story 059 <213.727>)

piuu..... eno'maiya ka'tak
piuu enō'ma -i -ya ka'tak
fly throw -3 -Erg high
SW Vtr -Pers -Agr Adv

'piuu...uu!(SSW) he threw him high up' (RA Kone'o Story 060 <215.196>)

doh!.... hok.. yōi bōk dia'chi mōrō..
doh hok yōi pōk i- d- a'chi mōrō
break hold.on stick on 3- Detr- hold A.I.? 
SW SW N P Pers- Intr- Vtr ?

'Doh!(SSW) hoh! he held on to the nearest branch' (RA Kone'o Story 061 <216.982>)
mörö rō migī inggu’togabliya
mörö rō migī inggu’tō -gābī -i -ya
that Emph Hes fool -Cmpltv -3 -Erg
Dem Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -Asp -Pers -Agr

hah.. hah.. hah.. haing embōdiyang...
hah hah hah haing ene -bōdī -i -ya -ng
laugh laugh laugh drama see -Hab -3 -Erg -Style
SW SW SW SW V -Asp -Pers -Agr -?

'There he was fooling him hah...hah..haing, he just looked at him' (RA Kone'o Story 062 <220.163>)

mörō gaza monggi ya inggu’tō'pi mörō
mörō kaza monggi ya inggu’tō -'pi mörō
that like monkey Erg fool -Past A.I.?
Dem P N P Vtr -T/A2 ?

'That is how the monkey fool him' (RA Kone'o Story 063 <225.755>)

kaiguze sa'ne inggu'tō'piiya
kaiguji sa'ne inggu’tō -'pi -i -ya
jaguar Emph fool -Past -3 -Erg
N Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'He fooled the poor tiger!' (RA Kone'o Story 064 <228.575>)

mörōbang rōning ji aurombōdi'pii tok
mörōbang nōning ji auromī -bōdī -'pii tok
thereafter only Emph tie.up -Hab -Past 3P1
N Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Pro

a mō dawa ning
ya mörō ta -u -wa ning
Erg A.I.? say -1 -Erg Emph
P ? Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl

'Then he [the tiger] was tied up, I am saying' (RA Kone'o Story 065 <230.682>)

4d. Kone'o, Tiger and the Stone Cows

mörō ning ji migī laspang nō migī ning
mörō ning ji migī laspang nō migī ning
that Emph Emph Hes last.one Emph Hes Emph
Dem Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl N Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

binimī gaijarō neda'pi
binimī gaijarō n- eda -'pi
walk in.number O.Nzr- hear -Past
Vintr Adv Nzr- Vtr -T/A2

'This is the last one that I have heard while I was travelling around' (RA Kone'o Story 066 <235.625>)
migli wik po sa'ne wanak au
migli wik po sa'ne wanak yau
Hes mountain on Emph grass in
Prtcl N P Prtcl N P

tse'eng mo gong... wik yai migi tok amok
t- eji -zeng moro gong wik yai migi tok amok
Adv- be -Abs.Nzr that Pl mountain through Hes rock Pl
?- V -Nzr Dem sfx N P Prtcl N Num

'Do you know those rocks on the mountains, they are in the grass' (RA Kone'o Story 067 <241.137>)

egepe... eli modomodo paga gaza ro sa'ne yeji
ege be el modomodo paga kaza ro sa'ne y- eji
big -Attr hey! rough.textured cow like Emph Emph 3- be
N -Azr SW N N P Prtcl Prtcl Pers- V

'They are big and rough and bumpy, bumpy, they look like cows' (RA Kone'o Story 068 <246.671>)

morobang ji se paga a'chijai'ya
morobang ji sero paga a'chi -zak -i -ya
thereafter Emph this cow hold -Perf -3 -Erg
N Prtcl Pro N Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

espi moro wa
eji -'pi moro wa
be -Past A.I.?Erg
V -T/A2 ? P

'Then he (kone'o) held on to one of the rock cows, he was there' (RA Kone'o Story 069 <250.050>)

ganang ji migi migi sa'ne ji kaiguze
kanang ji migi migi sa'ne ji kaiguji
again Emph Hes Hes Emph Emph jaguar
Adv? Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl N

sa'ne ji enggu'toiya ganang
sa'ne ji enggu'to -i -ya kanang
Emph Emph trick -3 -Erg again
Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr Adv?

'Again he was going to fool poor tiger again' (RA Kone'o Story 070 <252.920>)

nai awong anauya
nai yau -ng ano a- ya
what Loc -Nzr eat.meat 2- Erg
N P -Nzr Vtr Pers- P
'where does the meat you are eating come from, he said' (RA Kone'o Story 071 <258.052>)

paga anôuya     serô  kamoro  bek
paga anô       -u -ya serô kamoro bek
cow eat.meat -1 -Erg S.I. 3.Pl.Anim QP
N Vtr       -Pers -Agr Prtcl Pro Prtcl

mengyang,  kamoro  kamorong.....  daiya
mî- ene -ang kamoro kamoro -ng ta -i -ya
Pers- V -T/A1 Pro   Pro -? Vtr -Pers -Agr

'I am eating cow, don't you see them, there they are he said' (RA Kone'o Story 072 <261.252>)

kamoro na'neknang,     ane     ji!    eh...    heh
kamoro nai -nek -nang ane ji eh heh
Pro Vintr -Rel -Num Vintr.Imp Prtcl Prtcl SW

'Those over there, wait eh...heh' (RA Kone'o Story 073 <264.176>)

a'chigô  ta'pîya     ji  mörö
a'chi -gô ta -'pi -i -ya ji mörö
hold -Imper say -Past -3 -Erg Emph A.I.? 
Vtr -T/A Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl ?

biöringgadaneuya       a'chigô
i- bôringga -dane -u -ya a'chi -gô
3- turn.over -while -1 -Erg hold -Imper
Pers- Vtr -T/A2? -Pers -Agr Vtr -T/A

'You come on and hold it while I turn the cow over, hold it he said' (RA Kone'o Story 074 <267.401>)

kaiguze, kaiguze inggu'tögabî    ganang kone'o
kaiguji kaiguji inggu'tô -gabî kanang kone'o
jaguar jaguar fool -Cmpltv again rabbit
N N Vtr -Asp Adv? N

a ning ji  mörö
ya ning ji  mörö
Erg Emph Emph A.I.?
P Prtcl Prtcl ?

'Kone'o is fooling the tiger again' (RA Kone'o Story 075 <270.565>)
'Hold it! hold it he said' (RA Kone'o Story 076 <275.072>)

chi'tok...! a'tu'maiya ji wik abai
chi'tok a'tu'ma -i -ya ji wik abai
push.off push -3 -Erg Emph mountain from
SW Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtc1 N P

'Chi'tok!(SSW) he pushed the stone off the mountain' (RA Kone'o Story 077 <278.726>)

pöring.. böring.. böring... böring.. böring..
pöring pöring pöring pöring rolling rolling rolling rolling
SW SW SW SW SW

böring haing.. tök sa'ji e'pöringböringma
pöring haing tök sa'ne ji e'pöringböringma rolling drama rock Emph Emph roll
SW SW N Prtc1 Prtc1 Vintr

'Pöring,böring, böring(SSW describes rolling down a hill) haing! the rock rolled down' (RA Kone'o Story 078 <281.781>)

e'tane sak kaiguze ji inggu'töiya
e'tane sa'ne kaiguji ji inggu'tö -i -ya
but Emph jaguar Emph fool -3 -Erg
PRTCL? Prtc1 N Prtc1 Vtr -Pers -Agr
'But he was really fooling the tiger' (RA Kone'o Story 079 <285.155>)

hıp! kaiguze ya a'chi.. tök paga be tegamaik
hıp kaiguji ya a'chi tök paga pe t- egama -ze
take.off jaguar Erg hold rock cow like Adv- think -Prtcpl
SW N P Vtr N N P ?- Vtr -Vder

'Whop! The tiger held on to the rolling rock thinking it was a cow' (RA Kone'o Story 080 <287.589>)

pizosoik!... wizia'ka'piiya ganang
pizosoik i- waza'ka -'pi -i -ya kanang
squish! 3- crush -Past -3 -Erg again
SW Pers- Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Adv?

'This one was crushed again' RA Kone'o Story 081 <290.643>

mörö bök ima'ta'pi ta dok a rö
mörö pök i- ma'ta -'pi ta tok ya rö
that from 3- die -Past say 3pl Erg Emph
Dem P Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Vtr Pro P Prtc1

'He died from that they say' (RA Kone'o Story 082 <293.097>)
mërë rëgeng mërë yu'ma'sak
mërë rëgeng mërë y- u'madî -zak
that only that 3- finish -Perf
Dem Prtcl Dem Pers- Vtr -T/A2

'That is all, it is finished' (RA Kone'o Story 083 <295.209>)

ewaïk wagibe mang
ewaïk wagî be mang
yes good like 3.be.Pres
Prtcl? N P Cop

<Interviewer> 'Okay, this is good' (RA Kone'o Story 084 <298.344>

5. RA Piyai'ma Story

ah..... mërëdibo piyai'ma.
ah mërë - dibo piyai'ma
ah that - after giant
Interj Dem - Pos N

'Ah..after that there is piyai'ma' (RA Piyai'ma Story 001 <0.000>)

piyai'ma ganang,
piyai'ma ganang
giant again
N ?

'Piyai'ma again' (RA Piyai'ma Story 002 <3.264>)

piyai'ma epodipî mërë ka'pong amok aning ganang.
piyai'ma eji -pôdî -'pî mërë ka'pong amok arô -ning ganang
giant be -Iter -Past that person Pl carry -A.Nzr Chrctrstc
N V -Asp -T/A2 Dem N Num Vtr -Nzr N

'There was once a piyai'ma who use to carry people away' (RA Piyai'ma Story 003 <4.837>)

nai au keng ne'tai.
nai yau keng n- eji -tai
where Loc Uncert 3S- be -Med.Past
N P PRTCL Pers- V -T/A1

'I don't know where he was' (RA Piyai'ma Story 004 <8.371>)

piyada ku ji'tu bra se gaza
i- pada kuru j- i'tu bra se gaza
3- place Emph Detr- know Neg this like
Pers- N Prtcl Der- Vtr Neg Dem.Pro P
ning giubī uya ze.
ning i- gubi u- ya ze
Emph 3- do 1- Erg Fut
Prtc1 Pers- Vtr Pers- P Aux?

'No one knows of its place, but I will do it like this' (RA Piyai'ma Story 005 <9.384>)

piyai'ma esh'pī ka'pong ganang abō'ning
piyai'ma eji -'pī ka'pong ganang arō -pōdī -ning
giant be -Past person Chrctrstc carry -Iter -A.Nsr
N V -T/A2 N N Vtr -Asp -Nsr

'There was once a piyai'ma who use to carry away people' (RA Piyai'ma Story 006 <11.436>)

tok abōdī iya.
tok arō -pōdī i- ya
3Pl carry -Iter 3- Erg
Pro Vtr -Asp Pers- P

'He took them often' (RA Piyai'ma Story 007 <12.709>)

mīgī be ku mang mīre amōk
mīgī be kuru mang mīre amōk
this like Emph 3.be.Pres child Pl
Pro P Prtc1 Cop N Num

mo'kabōdī'pī iya dawong ku ze.
mo'ka -pōdī -'pī i- ya ta -wong kuru se
take.away -Iter -Past 3- Erg say -Nsr/Rel? Emph this
Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Pers- P Vtr -nzd Prtc1 Dem.Pro

'It is really like this, he use to take away the children, this what it really says' (RA Piyai'ma Story 008 <15.141>)

mīre amōk mo'kabōdī'pī iyaang,
mīre amōk mo'ka -pōdī -'pī i- ya -ng
child Pl take.away -Iter -Past 3- Erg -Style
N Num Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Pers- P -?

tri for gaijarō mīre amōk arō iya.
tri for gaijarō mīre amōk arō i- ya
three four in.number child Pl carry 3- Erg
Num Num Adv N Num Vtr Pers- P

'He use to take away the children, sometimes three and four in number, he will take them away' (RA Piyai'ma Story 009 <20.420>)

maironggong nō.
mairō -ng -kong nörō
over.there -Nsr -Pl also
Adv -Nsr -Nsfx Adv?

'From everywhere' (RA Piyai'ma Story 010 <23.713>)
'He takes them away to his wife and then grew them up' (RA Piyai'ma Story 011 <24.646>)

wik biyak.
wick biyak
mountain near.to
N P

'Near to the mountain' (RA Piyai'ma Story 012 <28.900>)

möröbang ji emo'kaiya mörö......
möröbang ji emo'ka-i -ya mörö thereafter Emph raise -3 -Erg Fut
N Prtcl Vtr -P- Pers -P Prtcl?

'Then he will make them grow and they got very big' (RA Piyai'ma Story 013 <29.673>)

doh! iwônô iya, tok pôk chi
doh i- wônô i- ya tok pôk ji
head.hit 3- kill 3- Erg 3Pl WRT Emph
SW Pers- Vtr Pers- P Pro P Prtcl

yenda' nabôdî'pi mörö piyai'tma ji kirrô.'
i- enda'na -pôdî -'pi mörö piyai'tma ji kirô -rô 3- eat -Iter -Past Fut giant Emph 3Sg.Anim -Cop?
Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A2 Prtcl? N Prtcl Pro -?

'Doh!(SSW describing sound made when hitting someone), He would kill one then eat him, this is piyai'tma' (RA Piyai'tma Story 014 <33.968>)

möröbang. jagonnî'pi ganang
möröbang i- ijagong -rî'pi ganang thereafter 3- partner -Past.Psn again
N Pers- N -NTns Adv?

doh!... egebe na'kô ne'tai
doh ege -be na'kô n- eji -tai
head.hit big -Attr maybe 3S- be -Med.Past
SW N -Azr Adv Pers- V -T/A1
'Then he would kill the other one again doh!...Maybe he was big because he had made them fat' (RA Piyai'ma Story 015 <38.706>)

'aikī! naiyau nya domba amōk nai
aikī nai yau nya domba amōk nai
Oh.my! where Loc 1+3 relatives Pl 3.be.Pres
SW N P Pro N Num Vintr

ta'pī dok a, nai yau nya munggōamōk nai?.
ta -'pī tok ya nai yau nya munggō amōk nai
say -Past 3Pl Erg where Loc 1+3 child Pl 3.be.Pres
Vtr -T/A2 Pro P N P Pro Npsd Num Vintr

'Oh my (pemong expression) where are our relatives they said, where are our children?' (RA Piyai'ma Story 016 <42.310>)

'mōrōu tok eji mōrō' tabōdī'pī
mōrō yau tok eji mōrō ta -pōdī -'pī
that Loc 3Pl be Fut say -Iter -Past
Dem P Pro V Prtcl? Vtr -Asp -T/A2

iya, turonggong anō'pī iya ganang.
i- ya turonnō -gong anō -'pī i- ya ganang
3- Erg another -Pl eat.meat -Past 3- Erg already
Pers- P N -Nsfx Vtr -T/A2 Pers- P Adv?

'Then he would always say 'they are all there,' but he had eaten the others already' (RA Piyai'ma Story 017 <45.856>)

mōra'tai guji kamo
mōra'tai kuru ji kamoro
at.that.time Emph Emph 3.Pl.Anim
Adv? Prtcl Prtcl Pro

zemiy'a pondō'pī mōrō, egedong be tok enaga'sak.
zemiy'a pondō -'pī mōrō ege -dong be tok ena -gabī -zak
become.aware -Past Fut big -Pl like 3Pl become -Cmpltv -Perf
Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl? N -Nsfx P Pro Vint -Asp -T/A2

'Then those that were there started to think about that, because these had gotten big already' RA Piyai'ma Story 018 <48.739>

tok bagasa'ng... es'pī mōrō mōrau.
tok baga -zak -ng eji -'pī mōrō mōrō yau
3Pl awake -Perf -Style be -Past Fut that Loc
Pr VINTR -T/A2 -? V -T/A2 Prtcl? Dem P

'They had awaken from their sleep and were just there' (RA Piyai'ma Story 019 <52.505>)
tok bagasak chi.
tok baga -zak ji
3Pl awaken -Perf Emph
Pro Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl

'They had awaken' (RA Piyai'ma Story 020 <54.888>)

tu gaijaronggong es'pi mörö
tu gaijarö -ng -gong eji -'pi mörö
two in.number -Nzr -Pl be -Past that
Num Adv -Nzr -Nsfx V -T/A2 Dem

boisamök azak tok a ji piyai'ma a ji.
bois amök arö -zak tok ya ji piyai'ma ya ji
boys Pl carry -Perf 3Pl Erg Emph giant Erg Emph
N Num Vtr -T/A2 Pro P Prtcl N P Prtcl

'There were two boys who the piyai'ma had taken there' (RA Piyai'ma Story 021 <56.130>)

ewaik, migi ji jaurogi ji mörö, ewaik.
ewaik migi ji i- zaurogi ji mörö ewaik
yes Hes Emph 3- talk Emph A.I.? yes
Prtcl? Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vintr Prtcl? Prtcl?

'Then he started to speak and said, Yes' (RA Piyai'ma Story 022 <59.525>)

kayuni gak dö zerö konoik pôk
kayuni gak tō zerö konoik bôk
Kuyuni into.liq go this fishhook WRT
PN P Vintr Pro N P

ta iya piyai'ma a tino'pi bôk.
ta i- ya piyai'ma ya tî- no'pi bôk
say3- Erg giant Erg 3Rf1- wife to
VtrPers- P N P Pers- N P

'I am going to the Kuyuni river to do some fishing' This is what piyai'ma said to his wife' (RA Piyai'ma Story 023 <64.602>)

etane tigingnô ji miwöniök
etane tigingnô ji mî- wönô -ik
so one Emph 2A- kill -Med.Imp
PRTCL? Num Prtcl Pers- Vtr -Imper

'So, you must kill one of them he said' (RA Piyai'ma Story 024 <67.336>)

môra'tai migi es'pi mörö wobiya be
môra'tai migi eji -'pi mörö wobiya be
at.that.time Hes be -Past A.I.? voodoo like
Adv? Prtcl V -T/A2 ? N P
'Maybe he was an evil spiritualist at that time, a little bit of a voodoo man (RA Piyai'ma Story 025 <69.689>)

'There may have been some charm with him' (RA Piyai'ma Story 026 <76.018>)

'He said to his wife, If you do him like this he will die, he will fall down' (RA Piyai'ma Story 027 <78.001>)

'There are a lot of this, it is near stacked near the door' (RA Piyai'ma Story 028 <82.147>)

'I will be leaving in the evening he said. His wife said okay and the boys heard him' (RA Piyai'ma Story 029 <86.914>)
boisamök bagazak chi ewarbō nau,
bois amök baga -zak ji ewarbō nau
boys Pl awaken -Perf Emph night between
N Num Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl N P

oh.. mörō gaza gak nya i'maka do' a wa.
oh. mörō gaza gak nya i'maka tok ya wa
okay that like into.liq 1+3 finish 3Pl Erg think
Prtcl? Dem P P Pro Vtr Pro P SW

'The boys were awake in the night and thought, is this how they
are finishing us (off)? (RA Piyai'ma Story 030 <93.383>)

'medai bek' tiwijagong bōk.
mi- eda -i bek ti- iijagong bōk
2A- hear -RPst QP 3Rfl- partner to
Pers- Vtr -T/A1 Prtcl Pers- N P

'Did you hear him?' (said one) to the other' (RA Piyai'ma Story 031
<97.970>)

ö'rō, pize a wōng mörōwenai pōrōu
ö'rō pize ya wōnō mörō wenai pōrōu
what this.Anim Erg kill that because arrow
N Pro P Vtr Dem P N

gonegazak tok a es'pī, tok pīre, pōrōu.
gonega -zak tok ya eji -'pī tok pīre pōrōu
make -Perf 3Pl Erg be -Past 3Pl arrow arrow
Vtr -T/A2 Pro P V -T/A2 Pro N N

'What? this one will kill us!' For this reason, they had made an
arrow, their arrow, an arrow.' (RA Piyai'ma Story 032 <99.803>)

naigaza kuru? pōrōu enno'pōdī zerō ta'pī
daigaza kuru pōrōu ennoqī -bōdī zerō ta -'pī
how Emph arrow shoot -Iter this say -Past
WH Prtcl N Vtr -Asp Pro Vtr -T/A2

iya ji mörō.
i- ya ji mörō
3- Erg Emph A.I.? 
Pers- P Prtcl ?

'How, really, will we shoot the arrow more than one time?' he
said.' (RA Piyai'ma Story 033 <106.543>)

pōrōu enno'pōdī zerō, tait! pōrōu... sorok! tait... wijagong.
pōrōu ennoqī -bōdī zerō tait pōrōu sorok tait wijagong
arrow shoot -Iter this slap arrow put.in slap other
N Vtr -Asp Pro SW N SW SW N

'We will shoot the arrow tait! one, then tait!sorok(SSW) the
other. (RA Piyai'ma Story 034 <110.298>)
'Then while we are searching for it or while we are eating we will destroy her they said to each other' (RA Piyai'ma Story 035 <114.935>)

'Im, Im, kamo boismok chi ya migi zenninggasak chi.
Im Im kamoro bois amok ji ya migi zenningga -zak ji
um um 3.Pl.Anim boys Pl Emph Erg this think -Perf Emph
Hes Hes Pro N Num Prtcls P Pro Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl

'Im... those boys had already thought like this' (RA Piyai'ma Story 036 <118.430>)

tok nu'ma'kasang tombari'sang.
tok n- i'ma'ka -zang tomba -ri'sang
3Pl 3S- kill -Pl.Nzr relative -Past.Pl
Pro Pers- Vtr -Nzr N -Ninfl

'The remainder of those that were finished off' (RA Piyai'ma Story 037 <121.704>)

ah. inggebra. inggebra woroik! tibire
ah ingge bra ingge bra woroik ti- pire
ah slowly Neg slowly Neg take.out 3Rfl- arrow
Interj Adv Neg Adv Neg SW Pers- N

a'koro ji moro mo'ka'pi kiroro a moro
a'koro ji moro mo'ka '-pi kiroro -ro ya moro
Instr Emph that take.out -Past 3Sg.Anim -Emph Erg A.I.? 
P Prtcls Dem Vtr -T/A2 Pro -Prtcls P ?

'she took out her arrow woroik!(SSW) and with it the charm' (RA Piyai'ma Story 038 <123.938>)

aza'ro na'kô ne't'ai, asa'ro mora't'ai ji
aza'ro na'kô n- eji -tai aza'ro mora't'ai ji
two maybe 3S- be -Med.Past two at.that.time Emph

'May be there were two at that time' (RA Piyai'ma Story 039 <129.225>)

sungwa ji diampi piyai'ma
sungwa ji i- tamipı piyai'ma
far.away Emph 3- husband giant
Adv Prtcls Pers- N N

'Her husband piyai'ma was away at the time' (RA Piyai'ma Story 040 <131.890>)
'Then she had made the charm that was placed onto a stick with a handle, it attached to the handle' (RA Piyai'ma Story 041 <133.472>)

'a'chizai'ya
hold
'she was holding it' (RA Piyai'ma Story 042 <140.782>)

'You all go along, what are you doing, go ahead quickly, she said like an old women' (RA Piyai'ma Story 043 <141.904>)

'ewaik, abine pöröu damo'ka bōdī nōbōk mang
'stay, sit down the arrows keep falling down' they said to fool her' (RA Piyai'ma Story 044 <145.790>)
ta'pī ji tok ya mörō, miyarō
ta -'pī ji tok ya mörō miyarō
say -Past Emph 3Pl Erg A.I.? get.going
Vtr -T/A2 Prtcl Pro P  ? Vimp

diōgō  nya wabiya
i- dō -gō nya wabiya
3- go -Imper 1+3 before
Pers- Vintr -T/A  Pro P

'You go before us, they said then, go before us' (RA Piyai'ma Story 045 <149.315>)

ewaik, diō'pī rī'kwō ji mörō no'san'chi
ewaik i- dō -'pī rī'kwō ji mörō no'san'chi
yes 3- go -Past Dim Emph A.I.? old.woman

'Okay said the old lady and went on' (RA Piyai'ma Story 046 <152.760>)

oroik!... wǐk!... tok niwiugai,
oroik wīk tok n- wĩuga -i
take.out cast 3Pl 3A30- point.at -RPst
SW SW Pro Pers- Vtr -T/A1

diūp! dia'mo'ka'pī ji mörō
diūp i- da'mo'ka -'pī ji mörō
fall.down 3- fall.down -Past Emph A.I.?
SW Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl?

'oroik! Wīk(SSW) they pointed the magic stick at her, diūp! She fell down then' (RA Piyai'ma Story 047 <155.584>)

dia'mo'ka'pī ji ima'ta sa'ne shi
i- da'mo'ka -'pī ji i- ma'ta sa'ne ji
3- fall.down -Past Emph 3- die Cause Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl Pers- Vintr Prtcl Prtcl

'She fell because she was dying' (RA Piyai'ma Story 048 <160.531>)

nai gaza giubī zerō?
nai gaza i- gubī zerō
what like 3- do SI
N P Pers- Vtr Prtcl

'How are we going to deal with her?' (RA Piyai'ma Story 049 <162.404>)

giyuiba zerō ta'pī tok a
i- guibō zerō ta -'pī tok ya
3- cook SI say -Past 3Pl Erg
Pers- Vtr Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 Pro P

'Let's cook her!!' they said' (RA Piyai'ma Story 050 <164.256>)
'Now there was an elongated pot there for cooking humans' (RA Piyai'ma Story 051 <166.370>)

arō zerō egedong be tok enazak serō
arō zerō ege -dong be tok ena -zak zerō
carry this big -Pl like 3Pl become -Perf SI
Vtr Pro N -Nsfx P Pro Vint -T/A2 Prtcl

da'pī ya nīgabō'angne to' ko
ta -'pī ya n- ga -bōdī -angne tok ko
say -Past Erg 3S- say -Iter -Past.Imprf 3Pl Emph
Vtr -T/A2 P Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 Pro Prtcl

'They said that he (piyai'ma) use to say they are big enough to hold in this pot' (RA Piyai'ma Story 052 <171.166>)

eh.... eh piyai'ma a
eh eh piyai'ma ya
yes yes giant Erg
Prtcl Prtcl N P

'Yes, the piyai'ma (said that)' (RA Piyai'ma Story 053 <176.425>)

timoige tok
tī- moi -ge tok
3Ref- pubic.hair -Posd 3Pl
Pers- N -Azr Pro

enabō'ka'sak serō daiya
ena -bōdī -gābī -zak zerō ta i- ya
become -Iter -Cmpltv -Perf SI say 3- Erg
Vint -Asp -Asp -T/A2 Prtcl Vtr Pers- P

'He said, they probably have pubic hair by now' (RA Piyai'ma Story 054 <177.916>)

warawidī'shi amōk sa'ji moi a'tazak i'tuiya
warawidī'shi amōk sa'ne ji moi a'ta -zak i'tu i- ya
boys Pl Emph Emph pubic.hair grow -Perf know 3- Erg
N Num Prtcl Prtcl N Vintr -T/A2 Vtr Pers- P

'He was predicting that the boys pubic hair had grown' (RA Piyai'ma Story 055 <180.070>)
mōro wenai tok moi
that because 3Pl public.hair
Dem P Pro N

mimo'kaik yōi yak, tamborong
mi- mo'ka -ik yōi yak tamborong
2A- take.away -Med.Imp stick onto all
Pers- Vtr -Imper N P N

eda'pi gwa'ne go kamoro ya ji
eda -'pi u- ga -aik -ne ko kamoro ya ji
hear -Past 1- say -Pres -Emph Emph 3.Pl.Anim Erg Emph
Vtr -T/A2 Pers- Vintr -T/A1 -Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pro P Prtcl

'Therefore he said you must take off their pubic hair and place it onto the wood. Those boys heard everything I say' (RA Piyai'ma Story 056 <182.903>)

yōi asa'nak minonggaik, mōro eba'ka a'tai ku ji
yōi asa'nak mi- nonga -aik mōro eba'ka a'tai kuru ji
stick between 2A- leave -Pres that come.out when Emph Emph
N P Pers- Vtr -T/A1 Dem Vintr Conj? Prtcl Prtcl

'You must place it between the split made on a piece of wood, so when I come out' (RA Piyai'ma Story 057 <188.572>)

am giururu'kado'pe wa ta'pi
am i- gururu'ka -do'pe w- ya ta -'pi
um 3- suck.off -Fut 1- Erg say -Past
Prtcl Pers- Vtr -Vinfl Prs- P Vtr -T/A2

sa'ne heh, heh, ku'kuk taiya
sa'ne heh heh ku'kuk ta i- ya
Emph laugh laugh suck say 3- Erg
Prtcl SW SW SW Vtr Pers- P

'I will suck it ku! Kuk(SSW describing sucking sound) he said' (RA Piyai'ma Story 058 <191.235>)

hai! wagibe jī, ka'pong moibe ji ya'tai
hai wagī be jī ka'pong moi -be jī a'tai
Anticipation good like Emph person public.hair -Attr Emph if
SW N P Prtcl N N -Azr Prtcl Conj?

'Hai! (expression of anticipation) so, if it good and it the pubic hair of a human...' (RA Piyai'ma Story 059 <196.162>)

e'tane ji nio'pi sa'ji moi
e'tane ji i- no'pi sa'ne ji moi
but Emph 3- wife Emph Emph public.hair
PRTCL? Prtcl Pers- N Prtcl Prtcl N
mo'ka'pì tok a mørø
mo'ka -'pì tok ya mørø
take.out -Past 3Pl Erg A.I.? 
Vtr -T/A2 Pro P

"But instead they took off the pubic hair of his wife" (RA Piyai'ma Story 060 <199.406>)

öök! mö egama'pì iya yak,
öök mørø egama -'pì i- ya yak
and.then that tell -Past 3- Erg into
SW Dem Vtr -T/A2 Pers- P P

sa'ji asanda eba'ka yak suruk....
sw Ne ji azanda eba'ka yak suruk
Emph Emph road come.out into put.in
Prtcl Prtcl N Vintr P SW

'So öök! They left it in the very place he told his wife to put their hair in the opening of the road suruk! (RA Piyai'ma Story 061 <205.990>)

tok niguibö, nio'pì kudu gudu gudu
tok n- guibö -i i- no'pì kudu kudu kudu
3Pl 3A30- cook -RPst 3- wife boil boil boil
Pro Pers- Vtr -T/A1 Pers- N SW SW SW

gudu gudu öinö au sa'ne ji
kudu kudu öinö yau sa'ne ji
boil boil pot Loc Emph Emph
SW SW N P Prtcl Prtcl

'They cooked his wife kudu..gudu(SSW expressing sound made by cooking something) in a pot' (RA Piyai'ma Story 062 <205.735>)

hei! tok ya giuibö
hei tok ya i- guibö
good 3Pl Erg 3- cook
SW Pro P Pers- Vtr

'Hei(expression of satisfaction) they cooked her' (RA Piyai'ma Story 063 <210.002>)

hei, yebi ku mørø tri a'krak
hei yebi kuru mørø tri a'krak
good come Emph Fut three 0'clock
SW Vint Prtcl Prtcl? Num ?

nigai ne go
n- ga -i ne ko
3S- say -RPst particularly Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl

Hei, he said he will be coming back at three 0'clock' (RA Piyai'ma Story 064 <211.243>)
hîng! wôi e'tane iyebî môrô
hîng wôi eji dane i- yebî môrô
distance sun be while 3- come A.I.?
SW N V conj? Pers- Vint ?

Hîng! (some distance in time) He came while it was still daylight' (RA Piyai'ma Story 065 <215.049>)

e'tane jîng.... tok enu'pôdî'pî môrô
e'tane ji -ng tok enugu -bôdî -'pî môrô
however Emph -Style 3Pl climb -Iter -Past A.I.?
PRTCL? Prtcl -? Pro Vintr -Asp -T/A2 ?

yôi bona ji ta dok a
yôi bona ji ta tok ya
tree onto Emph say 3Pl Erg
N P Prtcl Vtr Pro P

'However, they say that the boys all climb onto a tree' (RA Piyai'ma Story 066 <216.952>)

yôi bona tok nenugui
yôi bona tok n- enugu -i
tree onto 3Pl 3S- climb -RPst
N P Pro Pers- Vintr -T/A1

'They climbed a tree' (RA Piyai'ma Story 067 <220.717>)

môra'tai ji nai gaza kuji
môra'tai ji nai gaza kuru ji
at.that.time Emph what like Emph Emph
Adv? Prtcl N P Prtcl Prtcl

tugaik anni'tubai tok eji'pî, tok es'pî
tugaik an- i'tu -bai tok eji -'pî tok eji -'pî
in.what.way Desid- know -Desid 3Pl be -Past 3Pl be -Past
Adv? ?- Vtr -Vdrv Pro V -T/A2 Pro V -T/A2

'They wanted to know what will happen' (RA Piyai'ma Story 068 <221.809>)

tok abîrîmî bra rô ganang yes'pî môrô
tok abîrîmî bra rô ganang eji -'pî môrô
3Pl escape Neg Emph again be -Past A.I.?
Pro Vintr Neg Prtcl Adv? V -T/A2 ?

'They did not run away again that time' (RA Piyai'ma Story 069 <225.304>)

môrô ji wiugangdok es'pî tok
môrô ji wiuga -nô -dok eji -'pî tok
that Emph point.at -Inf -Nrzr be -Past 3Pl
Dem Prtcl Vtr -Vinfl -Nrzr V -T/A2 Pro
enau mőrô, nai gaza kuru
enau mőrô nai gaza kuru
in.possession that what like Emph
P Dem N P Prtcl

'They had in their possession the magic wood, how do we do this, they ask each other' (RA Piyai'ma Story 070 <226.596>)

ye'kabing-ng aimara
yebî -gabî -ng -ng aimara
come -Cmpltv -Style -Style fish.SP
Vint -Asp -? -? N

mazai'ya, tok yok sa'ne ji
ma -zak i- ya tok yok sa'ne ji
catch -Perf 3- Erg 3Pl meat Emph Emph
Vtr -T/A2 Pers- P Pro N Prtcl Prtcl

'He came, with the haimara fish that he had caught which was suppose to be for them' (RA Piyai'ma Story 071 <229.750>)

ôw! ôw! mô ji eboro iya môrô,
ôw ôw môrô ji eboro i- ya môr
oboy oboy that Emph find 3- Erg A.I.?
SW SW Dem Prtcl Vtr Pers- P ?

ôw...ôw!(noise made by piyai'ma), he came and found that thing' (RA Piyai'ma Story 072 <235.769>)

mô ji nio'pî sa'ne genîk
môrô ji i- no'pî sa'ne genîk
that Emph 3- wife Emph specifically
Dem Prtcl Pers- N Prtcl Prtcl

moi dîzak tok a yak, wôi yak
moi dîrî -zak tok ya i- yak wôi yak
pubic.hair give -Perf 3Pl Erg 3- into sun into
N Vtr -T/A2 Pro P Pers- P N P

'His wife's pubic hair which was placed in the sun' (RA Piyai'ma Story 073 <238.823>)

oroik!... mio'kaiya kirôrô a
oroik i- mo'ka i- ya kirô -rô ya
take.out 3- take.out 3- Erg 3Sg.Anim -Emph Erg
SW Pers- Vtr Pers- P Pro -Prtcl P

'oroik!(sound made by an aggressive and fast snatch) he snatched it' (RA Piyai'ma Story 074 <242.398>)

uwuup!... tadane yak
uwuup ta -dane i- ya -ng
slurp say -while 3- Erg -Style
SW Vtr -T/A2? Pers- P -?
'As he slurped u...wuup! heh...heh! (Coughing sound) he coughed as it was pungent' (RA Piyai'ma Story 075 <244.151>)

'nio'pì iwano'pe sa'ne ji ji
i- no'pì iwanok -be sa'ne ji ji
3- wife possession -Attr Emph Emph Emph
Pers- N N -Azr Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

'Because it was his wife's own' (RA Piyai'ma Story 076 <248.487>)

'it was not a child's, his game/meat' (RA Piyai'ma Story 077 <250.089>)

'Heh!... he said in anger, 'how come you became a victim old lady?' he said. He burn his mouth then went along.' (RA Piyai'ma Story 078 <252.493>)

'When he opened his pot warap!(SSW), there it was his cooked wife' (RA Piyai'ma Story 079 <259.243>)

'It was then, they ran away' (RA Piyai'ma Story 080 <262.908>)
hőp! parimǭ boro ji İng-ng tok
hőp parimǭ boro ji İng -ng tok
take.off Paruima via Emph mmm -Style 3Pl
SW N P Prtcl ? -? Pro

nabirimi
n- abirimi -i
3S- escape -RPst
Pers- Vintr -T/A1

'They got away hőp! going through Paruima' (RA Piyai'ma Story 081 <265.742>)

tok pa'nigi'pi iya mörö
tok pa'nigi' -'pi i- ya mörö
3Pl curse -past 3- Erg A.I.? Pro Vtr -T/A2 Pers- P ???

'He (piyai'ma) then cursed them' (RA Piyai'ma Story 082 <270.399>)

au'ma'tagong tawong eda'pi tok a
a- ma'ta -gong tawong eda -'pi tok ya
2- die -pl saying hear -past 3Pl Erg Pers- Vintr -Nsfx N Vtr -T/A2 Pro P

''You will all die!' they heard.' (RA Piyai'ma Story 083 <272.332>)

awenda'na a'tai ji biök
a- enda'na a'tai ji i- bök
2- eat when Emph 3- WRT Pers- Vintr Conj? Prtcl Pers- P

'When you eat it' (RA Piyai'ma Story 084 <274.125>)

au'ma'tagong kajiri bök au'ma'tagong
a- ma'ta -gong kajiri bök a- ma'ta -gong
2- die -pl manioc.beer WRT 2- die -pl Pers- Vintr -Nsfx N P Pers- Vintr -Nsfx

'You will die from Kasiri' (RA Piyai'ma Story 085 <275.837>)

mörö wenai migi mörö kuru e'wöng dok ak
mörö wenai migi mörö kuru e'- wönö -nö -dok yak
that because Hes that Emph Detr- kill -Inf -Nsr into
Dem P Prtcl Dem Prtcl Intr- Vtr -Vinfl -Nsr P

tok arö -i ya es'pi tok ewarma be
tok arö -i ya eji -'pl tok ewarma be
3Pl carry -RPst Erg be -past 3Pl not.liked like
Pro Vtr -T/A1 P V -T/A2 Pro N P

'They did not like how he was threatening them with killing' (RA Piyai'ma Story 086 <277.891>)
hōp! eh. mīgĩ yu'ma'pĩ gwaine
hōp eh mīgĩ y- u'ma -'pĩ u- ga -i -ne
take.off yes Hes 3- rise -Past 1- say -RPst -Emph
SW Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Pers- Vintr -T/A1 -Prtcl
go kōdō'kwak hai! marari'ta be
ko kōdō'kwak hai marari'ta be
Emph cotton Anticipation rapids like
Prtcl N SW N P

'Hōp! the Kōdō'kwak (Cotton) River was rising, it had become a
falls.' (RA Piyai'ma Story 087 <284.370>)
tok a ning pasmagab'pĩ rī'kwō rō mōrō
tok ya ning pasma -gabi -'pĩ rī'kwō rō mōrō
3Pl Erg Emph pass -Cmpltv -Past Dim Emph A.I.?
Pro P Prtcl Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Adv? Prtcl ?

'They had already passed this falls' (RA Piyai'ma Story 088 <290.910>)
hōk! urumörō'pō ebogabī iya yu'mazak kanang
hōk urumörō'pō ebogabī i- ya y- u'ma -zak ganang
Anticip ash reach 3- Erg 3- rise -Perf again
SW N Vtr Pers- P Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Adv?

'hōk! They arrived at urumörō'pō (Ash) river, it had risen again' (RA
Piyai'ma Story 089 <293.383>)
ye'kwörö'tanek, biïra
y- e'kwörödī -dane -ng i- bira
3- cross -while -Style 3- dangerously
Pers- Vintr -T/A2? -? Pers- Adv
tok emi'ni'pōdī'pĩ iya shirup!....
tok emi'ni'gĩ -bōdī -'pĩ i- ya shirup
3Pl drown -Iter -Past 3- Erg go.under.water
Pro Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Pers- P SW

'While they were crossing it, it kept drowning them shirup! (RA
Piyai'ma Story 090 <297.239>)
mōrō ji airō mo'ka'pĩ iya mōrō,
mōrō ji airō mo'ka -'pĩ i- ya mōrō
that Emph sympathy take.away -Past 3- Erg A.I.?
Dem Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 Pers- P ?
tuna ya ji mōrō ji,
tuna ya ji mōrō ji
water Erg Emph that Emph
N P Prtcl Dem Prtcl

'The river took that away, it took it away' (RA Piyai'ma Story 091
<300.293>)
mörö sa'ji obiya be te'seng
mörö sa'ne ji obiya be t- e'- se -ng
that Emph Emph voodoo like Adv- Detr- this -Nzr
Dem Prtcl Prtcl N P ?- Intr- Dem.Pro -Nzr

mo'ka'pì iya
mo'ka -'pì i- ya
take.away -Past 3- Erg
Vtr -T/A2 Pers- P

'It took the magic/obeah power from the stick' (RA Piyai'ma Story 092 <302.827>)

tok rō bada eboroi
tok rō bada eboro -i
3Pl Emph home find -RPst
Pro Prtcl N Vtr -T/A1

'They still reach home in spite of this' (RA Piyai'ma Story 093 <305.200>)

tok enda'na bra ji tok ya biadaga'pì
tok enda'na bra ji tok ya i- badaga -'pì
3Pl eat Neg Emph 3Pl Erg 3- talk -Past
Pro Vintr Neg Prtcl Pro P Pers- Vtr -T/A2

'They did not eat, they talked about him' (RA Piyai'ma Story 094 <307.033>)

enda'nang beng zerō damō nai gaza... e'nōdo'pe
enda'na -nō beng zerō damō nai gaza eji -nō -do'pe
eat -Inf Neg this you.know what like be -Inf -Fut
Vintr -Vinfl Neg Pro Prtcl N P V -Vinfl -Vinfl

'We will not be eating, how will we be, they said' (RA Piyai'ma Story 095 <309.607>)

mōra'tai ji kajiri engji tok a
mōra'tai ji kajiri engji tok ya
at.that.time Emph manioc.beer drink 3Pl Erg
Adv? Prtcl N Vtr Pro P

a'tai mōrō ji tok ma'tabōdī'pì ha..aing!
a'tai mōrō ji tok ma'ta -bōdī -'pì haing
when A.I.? Emph 3Pl die -Iter -Past drama
Conj? ? Prtcl Pro Vintr -Asp -T/A2 SW

'At that time when they drank the kasiri, they died one by one
haing! (RA Piyai'ma Story 096 <312.802>)

pa'nik pe ji tok ba'nī'saiy whole ge
pa'nik be ji tok pa'nīgi -zak i- ya ge
curse like Emph 3Pl curse -Perf 3- Erg Instr
N P Prtcl Pro Vtr -T/A2 Pers- P P

'Because he had put a curse on them' (RA Piyai'ma Story 097 <316.317>)
mörödong rí'kwó rögeng edaning uró da uya mò
mörö -dong rí'kwó rögeng eda -ning uró ta u- ya mörö
that -Pl Dim only hear -A.Nzr 1Stg say 1- Erg A.I.? 
Dem -Nsfx Adv? Prtcl Vtr -Nzr Pro Vtr Pers- P ?

'Those are the only things that I have heard, I say' (RA Piyai'ma Story 098 <318.230>)

mòbe mò endak pra rò
mörö -be mörö endak bra rò
that -Attr that beyond Neg Emph
Dem -Azr Dem P Neg Prtcl

'Nothing beyond that' (RA Piyai'ma Story 099 <321.124>)

6. TL Birdman Story

torong bandomii bra rò
torong pandong -i bra rò
bird story -Psd Neg Emph
N N -Ninfl Neg Prtcl

<Interviewer> 'not even a bird story?' (TL Birdman Story 001 <0.000>)

torong bandomii bra rò
torong pandong -i bra rò
bird story -Psd Neg Emph
N N -Ninfl Neg Prtcl

'not even a bird story' (TL Birdman Story 002 <2.183>)

torong amök rögeng seri amök rögeng te'sang
torong amök rögeng seri amök rögeng t-eji -zang
bird Pl only bird.Sp Pl only Adv- be -Pl.Nzr
N Num Prtcl N Num Prtcl ?- V -Nzr

'only the seri(a species of birds), only the seri birds are the ones'
(TL Birdman Story 003 <4.066>)

seri amök keng bek i'tuningnang amiyamoro,
seri amök keng bek i'tu -ning -nang amiyamoro
bird.Sp Pl doubt QP know -A.Nzr -Pl 2Coll
N Num Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -Nzr -Num Pro

tök tawonggong, wik awonggong
tök tau -ng -gong wik yau -ng -gong
rock within -Nzr -Pl.Psr mountain in -Nzr -Pl.Psr
N P -Nzr -Nsfx N P -Nzr -Nsfx

'Do you all know the seri birds, those who live in the rocks and in the mountains?' (TL Birdman Story 004 <9.934>)
biune' tong?
i- punedi -dong
3- fat -Pl
Pers- N -Nsfx

<Interviewer> 'The fat ones?' (TL Birdman Story 005 <13.500>)

mine'tong
mInek -dong
plump -Pl
N -Nsfx

'the nice, plump ones' (TL Birdman Story 006 <14.341>)

kamoro ganang e'podi'pi
kamoro kanang eji -bodi -'pi
3.Pl.Anim again be -Hab -Past
Pro Adv? V -Asp -T/A2

'These birds again use to be' (TL Birdman Story 007 <15.763>)

ka'pong amok yo'tong, ka'pong amok
ka'pong amok ok -dong ka'pong amok
person Pl meat -Pl person Pl
N Num N -Nsfx N Num

nangbodi'nodong,
n- ano -bodi -ni -dong
O.Nzr- eat.meat -Hab -Pres.Nzr -Pl
Nzr- Vtr -Asp -Nzr -Nsfx

'They were the people's meat, the ones the people ate regularly' (TL Birdman Story 008 <20.149>)

sairo ro tok e'podi'pi niga'botai
sairo ro tok eji -bodi -'pi n- ga -bodi -dai
here Emph 3Pl be -Hab -Past 3S- say -Hab -Past
Adv Prtcl Pro V -Asp -T/A2 Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1
ne tok ko sairo tok eng eji moro
ne tok ko sairo tok eng eji moro
particularly 3Pl Emph here 3Pl nest be A.I.? 
Prtcl Prtcl Adv Pro N V ?

'They said that their caves were located around here (pointing), their caves are around here (pointing in the direction)' (TL Birdman Story 009 <23.294>)

wik po
wik bo
mountain on
N P

'on the mountain' (TL Birdman Story 010 <27.079>)
'within the mountain' (TL Birdman Story 011 <28.100>)

tok anningnang be tok e'pödi'pi
tok anô -ning -nang be tok ejî -bôdi -'pi
3Pl eat.meat -A.Nzr -Pl like 3Pl be -Hab -Past
Pro Vtr -Nzr -Num P Pro V -Asp -T/A2

'They use to be the eaters of them' (TL Birdman Story 012 <29.722>)

ekte'pel waigara'pô ak tok amu'pô'ningnang be
ege -be waigara'pô yak tok amugî -bôdi -ning -nang pe
big -Attr basket into 3Pl pick.up -Iter -A.Nzr -Pl like
N -Azr N P Pro Vtr -Asp -Nzr -Num P

tok e'pödi'pi
tok ejî -bôdi -'pi
3Pl be -Hab -Past
Pro V -Asp -T/A2

'They use to pick up a *lot* them (the serî birds) in baskets' (TL
Birdman Story 013 <31.865>)

tok munggamôk sa'ne egedong beng
tok munggô amôk sa'ne ege -dong beng
3Pl children Pl Emph big -Pl Neg
Pro Npsd Num Prtcl N -Nsfx Neg

'their young ones not the adults' (TL Birdman Story 014 <34.889>)

tok anong beng
tok anong beng
3Pl parents Neg
Pro N Neg

'not their parents' (TL Birdman Story 015 <36.812>)

môrôbang ji
môrôbang ji
thereafter Emph
N Prtcl

'and then' (TL Birdman Story 016 <39.035>)

tok egainumi tok dôbôdi'pi
tok egainumi tok tô -bôdi -'pi
3Pl climb 3Pl go -Hab -Past
Pro Vintr Pro Vintr -Asp -T/A2

'they (people) climbed and they use to go' (TL Birdman Story 017
<40.797>)
'Maybe there was a hole, maybe the hole was like this one' (TL Birdman Story 018 <44.523>)

'The hole is like this, way into the mountain itself they use to go' (TL Birdman Story 019 <47.445>)

'to take them out and so they will take them out' (TL Birdman Story 020 <51.052>)

'they use to climb, "korok!"' (TL Birdman Story 021 <55.036>)

'while being tied up with a wild bush rope' (TL Birdman Story 022 <56.379>)

'They use to climb' (TL Birdman Story 023 <59.303>)
They took them out real fast' (TL Birdman Story 024 <62.368>)

They took them out real fast' (TL Birdman Story 025 <66.894>)

They abandoned them and returned home' (TL Birdman Story 026 <70.600>)

They abandoned him' (TL Birdman Story 027 <77.028>)

They climbed out before him, before him' (TL Birdman Story 028 <80.935>)

"Haing!" (expression of surprise) they left him, "Goodbye!"' (TL Birdman Story 029 <84.448>)
"Are you climbing out?" they asked him' (TL Birdman Story 030 <89.847>)

mörö pung bo eji’ma
mörö pung po eji -i’ma
that mound on be -While
Dem N P V -?

dïīgiū digiūmā'piyā,     tigīu tigīu tigīu
i-     tigūdiūgiu -'pī -i     -ya tigīu tigīu tigīu
3-     shake -Past -3     -Erg shake shake shake
Pers- Vtr       -T/A2 -Pers -Agr SW SW SW

'while being on the mound (at the bottom of the cave) he tugged the rope tigīu-tigīu- tigīu (TL Birdman Story 031 <93.361>)

tēwa     tigūdiūgiu mā'piyā
t-     ewa tigūdiūgiu -'pī -i     -ya
3.Rfl- rope shake -Past -3     -Erg
Pers- N Vtr       -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'he tugged the rope that was tied around himself' (TL Birdman Story 032 <96.357>)

nong bo eji’ma mörau rō eji’ma
nong po eji -i’ma mörau rō eji -i’ma
earth on be -While there Emph be -While
N P V -? Adv Prtcl V -?

'while he was on the ground while he was still there (in the hole)' (TL Birdman Story 033 <97.927>)

nyarō egainunggaa'īik
nyarō egainumī -gābi -aik
hello climb -Cmpltv -Pres
Vimp Vintr -Asp -T/A1

"Hello! I am coming up"' (TL Birdman Story 034 <100.513>)

öp! tiep! tok a ji a’tō'pī ji mörō sungwa ji
öp tiep tok ya ji a’tō -'pī ji mörō sungwa ji
surprise snip 3Pl Erg Emph cut -Past Emph that far.away Emph
SW SW Pro P Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 Prtcl Dem Adv Prtcl

"öp! tiep!" (a snapping sound) They cut or snapped his rope far away' (TL Birdman Story 035 <101.572>)
haing! mörö sa'ji    tok a    ebingga, mörö mígi
haing mörö sa'ne ji    tok ya    ebingga mörö mígi
drama that    Emph    Emph    3Pl Erg    abandon    that    Hes
SW    Dem    Prtcl    Prtcl    Pro    P    Vtr    Dem    Prtcl

'Haing! That's it, they really did abandon him then, and then' (TL Birdman Story 036 <105.039>)

haing yebi bra
haing yebi bra
drama come    Neg
SW    Vint    Neg

'haing! he could not come' (TL Birdman Story 037 <109.724>)

tok sa'ji    dö'pi    biyabai    ji
tok sa'ne ji    tō    -'pī    i-    piyabai    ji
3Pl    Emph    Emph    go    -Past    3-    away/from    Emph
Pro    Prtcl    Prtcl    Vintr    -T/A2    Pers-    P    Prtcl

'They went away and left him' (TL Birdman Story 038 <112.790>)

emengnī'pi    bo    ganang ji    tok    ense'na
emeng    -rī'pī    po    kanang ji    tok    ene    -ze'na
a.while    -Past.Psn    Loc    again    Emph    3Pl    see    -Purp
N    -NTns    P    Adv?    Prtcl    Pro    V    -VDer

'After sometime again, they decided to go and see him' (TL Birdman Story 039 <115.392>)

ō!    mörau rō    bek    me'ang    yabōimabōdīi,
ō    mörau rō    bek    mī-    eji    -ang    y-    abōima    -bōdī    -i
shout    there    Emph    QP    2Sa-    be    -Pres    10-    curse    -Iter    -Vet
SW    Adv    Prtcl    Prtcl    Pers-    V    -T/A1    Pers-    Vtr    -Asp    -Imp

tabōdī'pī    tok    a,    yabōimabōdīi
ta    -bōdī    -'pī    tok    ya    y-    abōima    -bōdī    -i
say    -Hab    -Past    3Pl    Erg    10-    curse    -Iter    -Vet
Vtr    -Asp    -T/A2    Pro    P    Pers-    Vtr    -Asp    -Imp

'ō!(shouting for someone in the distance)'are you still there? They use to ask, 'don't throw a spell at us' they use to say' (TL Birdman Story 040 <117.456>)

mia'ta'pī    beng    ji?
i-    ma'ta    -'pī    beng    y-    eji
3-    die    -Past    Neg    3-    be
Pers-    Vintr    -T/A2    Neg    Pers-    Vintr

<Interviewer> 'Did he not die?' (TL Birdman Story 041 <122.472>)

mia'ta'pī    beng    gwaik,
i-    ma'ta    -'pī    beng    u-    ga    -i    -k
3-    die    -Past    Neg    1-    say    -RPst    -Style
Pers-    Vintr    -T/A2    Neg    Pers-    Vintr    -T/A1    -?
mōrau rō ji gwaik
mōrau rō y- eji u- ga i -k
there Emph be 1- say -RPst -Style
Adv Prtcl Pers- Vintr Pers- Vintr -T/A1 -?

'No, he did not die I said, he was right there I said' (TL Birdman Story 042 <123.745>)

mōrōbang jik sororong, tok a
mōrōbang ji k sororong tok ya
thereafter Emph -Style throw.into.hole 3Pl Erg
N Prtcl -? SW Pro P

ganang ji chi'nak eno'ma'pi ganang, ense'na ji
kanang ji chi'nak eno'ma -'pi kanang ene -ze'na ji
again Emph bush.rope throw -Past again see -Purp Emph

'Then they threw in a bush rope again, when they went to see
him' (TL Birdman Story 043 <128.621>)

haing! mōrau rō ji ye'podazak.
haing mōrau rō eji y- e'poda -zak
drama there Emph be 3- get.hairy -Perf
SW Adv Prtcl V Pers- Vintr -T/A2

egebe torong gaza ji yenazak egebe
ege -be torong kaza ji y- ena -zak ege -be
big -Attr bird like Emph 3- become -Perf big -Attr
N -Azr N P Prtcl Pers- Vint -T/A2 N -Azr

'Haing! he was right there and he had gotten very feathery and
had gotten big and fat like the birds' (TL Birdman Story 044 <132.818>)

torong amōk kaza
torong amōk kaza
bird Pl like
N Num P

'like the birds' (TL Birdman Story 045 <138.395>)

torong amōk a rō sa'ne ji
torong amōk ya rō sa'ne ji
bird Pl Erg Emph Emph Emph
N Num P Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

ewe'pōdi'pi kamoro wa rō ji
ewegi -bōdi -'pi kamoro wa rō eji
feed -Hab -Past 3.Pl.Anim Erg Emph be
Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Pro P Prtcl V

'You see, the birds use to feed him, they did' (TL Birdman Story 046 <139.808>)
mőrau ye'põdî'pî dieuda au ye'põdî'pî
mőrau y- eji -bôdî -'pî i- euda yau y- eji -bôdî -'pî
there 3- be -Hab -Past 3- hole in 3- be -Hab -Past

'He use to be in there in the cave' (TL Birdman Story 047 <142.831>)

haing! mörøbang ji e'põdî'pî za'ne
haing mörøbang ji eji -bôdî -'pî sa'ne
drama thereafter Emph be -Hab -Past Emph
SW N Prtcl V -Asp -T/A2 Prtcl

'Haing! that is how he use to be' (TL Birdman Story 048 <147.499>)

mörøbang ji migî pa'ka'pî tok a
mörøbang ji migî pa'ka -'pî tok ya
thereafter Emph Hes release -Past 3Pl Erg
N Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 Pro P

'then they let him out' (TL Birdman Story 049 <152.124>)

tok nîba'kai, emengnî'pî bo sa'ji
tok- pa'ka -i emeng -rî'pî po sa'ne ji
3Pl 3A3O release -RPst a.while -Past.Psn Loc Emph Emph
Pro Pers- Vtr -T/A1 N -NTNs P Prtcl Prtcl

emengnî'pî bo rô migî tok a bia'ka'pî
emeng -rî'pî po rô migî tok ya i- pa'ka -'pî
a.while -Past.Psn Loc Emph Hes 3Pl Erg 3- release -Past
N -NTNs P Prtcl Prtcl Pro P Pers- Vtr -T/A2

'They let him out after some time, after some time they let him out'
(TL Birdman Story 050 <155.180>)

mőrau tok a ewe'põdî'pî abine
mőrau tok ya ewegî -bôdî -'pî abine
there 3Pl Erg feed -Hab -Past wait
Adv Pro P Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Vimp

keba'kai tabôdî'pî tok a
ke- eba'ka -i ta -bôdî -'pî tok ya
2S.Vet- come.out -Vet say -Hab -Past 3Pl Erg
Pers- Vintr -Imp Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Pro P

'they use to feed him in the cave and the birds told him not to get
out' (TL Birdman Story 051 <159.394>)

abine, mőrau rô sungwa ji ye'põdî'ping
abine mőrau rô sungwa ji y- eji -bôdî -'pî -ng
wait there Emph far.away Emph 3- be -Hab -Past -Style
Vimp Adv Prtcl Adv Prtcl Pers- V -Asp -T/A2 -?

'He use to be there far away for awhile' (TL Birdman Story 052
<164.373>)
So after sometime he came out' (TL Birdman Story 053 <168.767>)

mörö gaza rō te'pō'seng be tok
mörö kaza rō t- eji -bōdī -zeng pe tok
that like Emph Adv- be -Hab -Abs.Nzr like 3Pl
Dem P Prtcl ?- V -Asp -Nzr P P Pro

e'pōdī'pī dauya mörö gaza
eji -bōdī -'pī ta -u -ya mörö gaza
be -Hab -Past say -1 -Erg that like
V -Asp -T/A2 Vtr -Pers -Agr Dem P

'They use to be like that, I am saying, like that' (TL Birdman Story 054 <171.383>)

tīzēwa'nomazeng be tok e'pōdī'pī
t- e' ew'nama -zeng pe tok eji -bōdī -'pī
Adv- Detr- go.to.war.with -Abs.Nzr like 3Pl be -Hab -Past
?- Intr- Vtr -Nzr P Pro V -Asp -T/A2

'They use to war with each other' (TL Birdman Story 055 <176.658>)

teadonggong nō ebingganingnang be
t- eadong -gong nō ebingga -ning -nang be
3.Rfl- enemy -Pl.Psr Emph abandon -A.Nzr -Pl like
Pers- N -Nsfx Prtcl Vtr -Nzr -Num P

tok e'pōdī'pī
tok eji -bōdī -'pī
3Pl be -Hab -Past
Pro V -Asp -T/A2

'They use to abandon those that were their enemies' (TL Birdman Story 056 <178.893>)

mörö ji ka'pong be bek migī, ok amōk,
mörö ji ka'pong pe bek migī ok amōk
that Emph person like QP Hes game Pl
Dem Prtcl N P Prtcl Prtcl N Num

torong amōk e'pōdī'pī mörö pena,
torong amōk eji -bōdī -'pī mörö pena
bird Pl be -Hab -Past that long.ago
N Num V -Asp -T/A2 Dem Adv

ka'pong be tok ešh'pī? pek?
ka'pong pe tok eji -'pī bek
person like 3Pl be -Past QP
NP P Pro V -T/A2 Prtcl

<Interviewer> 'Were the animals and birds people long ago, were they people?' (TL Birdman Story 057 <183.188>)
ewai'pa
ewai'pa
I don't know
Prtcl?

'I don't know' (TL Birdman Story 058 <192.672>)

ö'rō wenai geng ji tok era'tō'pī mōrō gaza?
ö'rō wenai keng ji tok era'tō -'pī mōrō kaza
what for doubt Emph 3Pl turn -Past that like
WH P Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pro Vintr -T/A2 Dem P

<Interviewer> 'Why did they turn into what they are?' (TL Birdman Story 059 <193.202>)

mōrō gaza sa'ne ji tok es'pī be ji
mōrō kaza sa'ne ji tok eji -'pī pe ji
that like Emph Emph 3Pl be -Past like Emph
Dem P Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pro V -T/A2 P Prtcl

mo go i'tu bra sak ji
mo ko i'tu bra sa'ne eji
Irrealis Emph know Neg Emph be
Prtcl Prtcl Vtr Neg Prtcl V

'Maybe they use to be like that, no one knows that' (TL Birdman Story 060 <195.556>)

mōrō gaza ku tok ezeru i'tu bra rō ji mōrō gaza
mōrō kaza kuru tok ezeru i'tu bra rō eji mōrō kaza
that like Emph 3Pl ways know Neg Emph be that like
Dem P Prtcl Prtcl Pro N Vtr Neg Prtcl V Dem P

'No one quite knows that their history was like that' (TL Birdman Story 061 <199.971>)

7. TL Makanaimo Story

mōrō ji egampouya ji ze mīgī
mōrō ji egamp -u -ya ji serō mīgī
that Emph ask -1 -Erg Emph this Hes
Dem Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

ö'rō dugaik pada egonega'pī
ö'rō tugaik pada egonega -'pī
what like place create -Past
WH P N Vtr -T/A2

nigabō'ang tok? Se nong ö'rō
n- ka -bōdī -ang tok Serō nong ö'rō
3S- say -Hab -Pres 3Pl this earth what
Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 Pro Pro N WH
dugaik yegonega'pî tugaik rô
tugaik y- egonega -'pî tugaik rô
like 3- create -Past in.what.way Emph
P Pers- Vtr -T/A2 P Prtcl

bek te'seng mô môrau?
bek t- eji -zeng môrô môrau
QP Adv- be -Abs.Nzr that there
Prtcl ?- V -Nzr Dem Adv

<Interviewer> 'I will now ask you about how this world was made, what
do they say about this earth, is there anything about how it was
created?' (TL Makanaimo 001 <0.000>)

i'tu bra ku rô ji pandong i'tuwa
i'tu bra kuru rô eji pandong i'tu -u -wa
know Neg Emph Emph be story know -1 -Erg
Vtr Neg Prtcl Prtcl V N Vtr -Pers -Agr

bra ku e'pô'aiik môrô pandomii
bra kuru eji -bôdî -aik môrô pandong -i
Neg Emph be -Hab -Pres that story -Psd
Neg Prtcl V -Asp -T/A1 Dem N -Ninf1

'It is really not known, I really do not know the story of that' (TL
Makanaimo 002 <7.871>)

magunaimô mîgainen sak ji
magunaimô mî- ka -i -nek sa'ne ji
Great.Spirit 2Sa- say -RPst -Rel Emph Emph
N Pers- Vintr -T/A1 -Rel Prtcl Prtcl

chi'kôrô te'seng mô go pena a'tai
chi'kôrô t- eji -zeng môrô ko pena a'tai
following Adv- be -Abs.Nzr that Emph long.ago when
P ?- V -Nzr Dem Prtcl Adv Conj?

'It starts with what you said about magunaimô in the olden times' (TL
Makanaimo 003 <12.067>)

môrô geng bek mi'tuang magunaimô
môrô keng bek mî- i'tu -ang magunaimô
that doubt QP 2A- know -Pres Great.Spirit
Dem Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vtr -T/A1 N

<Interviewer> 'Do you know magunaimô?' (TL Makanaimo 004 <17.344>)

magunaimô e'pôdî'pî ka'pong
magunaimô ejî -bôdî -'pî ka'pong
Great.Spirit be -Hab -Past person
N V -Asp -T/A2 N

nîgâbô'ang ne tok ko,
n- ka -bôdî -ang ne tok ko
3S- say -Hab -Pres particularly 3Pl Emph
Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 Prtcl Pro Prtcl
'Magunaimo was a person, so they say, very unfortunate, bad because he use to have chiggers in his feet' (TL Makanaimo 005 <18.236>)

tabö'ningnang ne kamo go
ta -bōdī -ning -nang ne kamoro ko
say -Hab -A.Nzr -Pl particularly 3.Pl.Anim Emph
Vtr -Asp -Nzr -Num Prtcl Pro Prtcl

'So they always say' (TL Makanaimo 006 <24.214>)

im.. mīgī irunang amōk, diomba
īm mīgī i- runang amōk i- tomba
um Hes 3- sibling Pl 3- relative
Hes Prtcl Pers- N Num Pers- N

amōk ya giai'ma diup! diup!
amōk ya i- kai'ma diup diup
Pl 3- Erg fall.down fall.down
Num P Pers- Vtr SW SW

die'kiyarī wenai rō die'kiyarī
i- e'kiyarī wenai rō i- e'kiyarī
3- food for Emph 3- food
Pers- N P Prtcl Pers- N

'īm.. his own siblings, his relatives use to fight him, diup! diup! for his own food, his food' (TL Makanaimo 007 <26.788>)

padamaning be, kiyari badamaning
padama -ning pe kiyari padama -ning
cultivate -A.Nzr like food cultivate -A.Nzr
Vtr -Nzr P N Vtr -Nzr

be ye'pōdī'pī
pe y- ejī -bōdī -'pī
like 3- be -Hab -Past
P Pers- V -Asp -T/A2

'He use to have food farms' (TL Makanaimo 008 <31.805>)

ege rō, ō'rō rō koneganing be, meguru
ege rō ō'rō rō konega -ning pe meguru
big Emph what Emph make -A.Nzr like banana
N Prtcl WH Prtcl Vtr -Nzr P N
'It either was big, he made anything and planted lots of bananas' (TL Makanaimo 009 <33.958>)

díup! im. tok a giai'ma mörö
díup ím tok ya i- kai'ma mörö
fall. down um 3Pl Erg 3- wrestle Fut
SW Hes Pro P Pers- Vtr Prtcl?

die'kiyari i'che tok eji
i- e'kiyari i- 'che tok eji
3- food 3- Desid 3Pl be
Pers- N Pers- P Pro V

'Díup!(SSW) they fought him because they wanted his food' (TL Makanaimo 010 <37.833>)

íhek!... yabirimí kírörö
íhek y- abirimí kírö -rö
hey! 3- escape 3Sg.Anim -Emph
SW Pers- Vintr Pro -Prtcl

'Íhek! (expression of support) he gets away' (TL Makanaimo 011 <41.609>)

magunaimö gwaik
magunaimö u- ka -i -k
Great.Spirit 1- say -RPst -Style
N Pers- Vintr -T/A1 -?

'This is magunaimö I say' (TL Makanaimo 012 <44.382>)

ka pong be na'kô ye'pódi'pî, ka pong
ka pong pe na'kô y- eji -bôdî -'pî ka pong
person like maybe 3- be -Hab -Past person
N P Adv Pers- V -Asp -T/A2 N

be sak ji ye'pódi'pî
pe sa'ne ji y- eji -bôdî -'pî
like Emph Emph 3- be -Hab -Past
P Prtcl Prtcl Pers- V -Asp -T/A2

'Maybe he was a person, he was a person' (TL Makanaimo 013 <45.915>)

yegoda'mabôdî'ping. mîgi bra,
y- e'- kôda'ma -bôdî -'pî -ng mîgi bra
3- Detr. punish -Hab -Past -Style Hes Neg
Pers- Intr- Vtr -Asp -T/A2 -? Prtcl Neg
'He use to suffer without an axe' (TL Makainamo 014 <50.191>)

'tök konegache ye'pödi'pi, 
serau rō sak ji,
tök konegache y- eji -bōdi -'pī seriurō sa'ne ji
rock make Desid 3- be -Hab -Past here Emph Emph Emph
N Vtr P Pers- V -Asp -T/A2 Adv Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

ye'goda'mabōdi'pī mō go seriurō
y- e'- koda'ma -bōdi -'pī mōrō ko seriurō
3- Detr- punish -Hab -Past A.I.? Emph here Emph
Pers- Intr- Vtr -Asp -T/A2 ? Prtcl Adv Prtcl

'He use to try and make it out of stone, it is here he use to punish, right here' (TL Makainamo 015 <54.607>)

serau rō migī ye'pōdi'pī,  
ye'goda'mabōdi'pī,
serau rō migī y- eji -bōdi -'pī y- e'- koda'ma -bōdi -'pī
here Emph Hes 3- be -Hab -Past 3- Detr- punish -Hab -Past
Adv Prtcl Prtcl Pers- V -Asp -T/A2 Pers- Intr- Vtr -Asp -T/A2

magunaimō  egoda'mabōdi'pī
magunaimō e'- koda'ma -bōdi -'pī
Great. Spirit Detr- punish -Hab -Past
N Intr- Vtr -Asp -T/A2

'He use to be here, he use to punish here, magunaimō use to punish here' (TL Makainamo 016 <59.864>)

kirō rō ji ka'pōng ji egoda'mabōdi'pī
kirō rō ji ka'pōng ji e'- koda'ma -bōdi -'pī
3Sg. Anim Emph Emph person Emph Detr- punish -Hab -Past
Pro Prtcl Prtcl N Prtcl Intr- Vtr -Asp -T/A2

'He the person use to punish' (TL Makainamo 017 <65.843>)

ō're kuji  e'to'pe ti'wa'kari
ō're kuru ji eji -do'pe t- wa'ka -ri
what Emph Emph be -Purp 3.Rfl- axe -Psd
WH Prtcl Prtcl V -Vinf1 Pers- N -Ninf1

be, tōk konegaike che ye'tane
pe tōk konegaze che y- eji -dane
like rock make -Prtcpl Desid 3- be -while
P N Vtr -Vder P Pers- V -T/A2?
'He wondered about what should really be his axe, so he try to make one out of stone but it got jagged at the edges' (TL Makaimono 018 <68.837>)

wagībe bra, wagī be bra sa'mang be bra sa'nē
det good like Neg good like Neg hard like Neg Emph
N P Neg N P Neg N P Neg Prtcl

'It was not good and it was not tough enough' (TL Makaimono 019 <75.087>)

morombō rō gonebōdībōk tuwa'kari be,
be- 3.Rfl- fish-hook like Emph fishhook like Emph
N Prtcl Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Pers- N -Ninfl P

'tugonjī be rō, konoik pe rō

3.Rfl- fish-hook like Emph fishhook like Emph
Pers- N P Prtcl N P Prtcl

'He even made his axe out of wax, also for his fish hook' (TL Makaimono 020 <78.531>)

kane ondī be ye'pōdī'pī

no soft like 3- be -Hab -Past
? N P Pers- V -Asp -T/A2

'Oh no it was too soft' (TL Makaimono 021 <82.297>)

e'tane ji

e'tāne ji

however Emph
PRTCL? Prtcl

'However' (TL Makaimono 022 <85.020>)

mōrō gaza rō ye'pōdī'pī

that like Emph 3- be -Hab -Past
Dem P Prtcl Pers- V -Asp -T/A2

'He use to be like that' (TL Makaimono 023 <88.166>)

mō ku sa'jī se wayaga yek, a'tō'pīya

that Emph Emph Emph this tree.Sp tree cut -Past -3 -Erg
Dem Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pro N N Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr
'It starts with him cutting down the Wayaga tree' (TL Makanaimo 024 <91.370>)

wayaga yek chi a'tö'piya
wayaga yek ji a'tö -'pi -i -ya
tree.Sp tree Emph cut -Past -3 -Erg
N N Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'He cut down the wayaga tree' (TL Makanaimo 025 <95.446>)

meguru pada ji ō'rō namo pada kiyari yek rōnamo
meguru pada ji ō'rō namo pada kiyari yek rōnamo
banana place Emph what Uncrtnty place food plant uncrtn
N N Prtcl WH Prtcl N N N Prtcl

'He cut it down to make space to plant bananas, or maybe other food crops' (TL Makanaimo 026 <97.078>)

mörörō namo ji a'tö'piya
mörō -rō namo ji a'tō -'pi -i -ya
that -Emph Uncrtnty Emph cut -Past -3 -Erg
Dem -Prtc1 Prtc1 Prtc1 Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'It was probably that he cut down' (TL Makanaimo 027 <101.214>)

doh! na'tōi
doh n- a'tō -i
break 3A3O- cut -RPst
SW Pers- Vtr -T/A1

'Dōh!(SSW) he cut it' (TL Makanaimo 028 <104.469>)

haing! abine ji yobinggado'pe
haing abine ji y- obingga -do'pe
drama wait Emph 3- open -Fut
SW Vimp Prtc1 Pers- Vintr -Vinfl

'tadane kanang iwarga uya mianingba'pī
ta -dane kanang iwarga ya i- maningba -'pī
say -while again monkey Erg 3- anger -Past

'Haing!While he was thinking to open the field, the monkey bothered him' (TL Makanaimo 029 <109.747>)

mörō migī mo'ma wayaga yek piya'pō,
mörō migī mo'ma wayaga yek piya'pō
that Hes ??? tree.Sp tree piece
Dem Prtc1 ??? N N N
obingga'piya
obingga -'pí -i -ya
open -Past -3 -Erg
Vintr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'He opened the piece of the wayaga tree that blocked the water' (TL Makanaimo 030 <115.786>)

tuup! parau be diö'pí, haing
tuup parau pe i- tò -'pí haing
disappear sea like 3- go -Past drama
SW N P Pers- Vintr -T/A2 SW

chiya morok amök dö'pí
chiya morok amök tò -'pí
far.away fish Pl go -Past
Adv? N Num Vintr -T/A2

'Tuup!(SSW) it went out as the sea and haing! all the fishes went away'
(TL Makanaimo 031 <120.643>)

mörö gaze te'seng mogo dauya
mörö kaza t- eji -zeng mogo ta -u -ya
that like Adv- be -Abs.Nzr ctnity say -l -Erg
Dem P ?- V -Nzr Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

mörö na'nek kaza yes'pí
mörö nai -nek kaza y- eji -'pí
A.I.? 3.be.Pres -Rel like 3- be -Past
? Vintr -Rel P Pers- Vintr -T/A2

'That is how it was I say, that is how he was' (TL Makanaimo 032 <125.389>)

haing! tìgangwa rö ji
haing t- kangwa rö ji
drama 3.Rfl- boat Emph Emph
SW Pers- N Prtcl Prtcl

konebödi'piya mai rö
kone -bödi -'pí -i -ya mai rö
make -Hab -Past -3 -Erg over.there Emph
Vtr -Asp -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Adv Prtcl

na'nek giangwari'pí
naî -nek i- kangwa -rî'pí
3.be.Pres -Rel 3- boat -Past.Psn
Vintr -Rel Pers- N -NTns

'haing! he also made his boat, the one over there was what used to be his boat' (TL Makanaimo 033 <130.017>)

mairö migî magunaimô kangwari'pí
mairö migî magunaimô kangwa -rî'pí
over.there Hes Great.Spirit boat -Past.Psn
Adv Prtcl N N -NTns
nigabokaiknek tok
n- ka -bodi -aik -nek tok
3S- say -Hab -Pres -Rel 3Pl
Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 -Rel Pro

'Over there they say is what use to be maganaimos boat' (TL Makanaimo 034 <134.843>)

mairo ye'podi'pi na'nek
mairo y- eji -bodi -'pi nai -nek
over.there 3- be -Hab -Past 3.be.Pres -Rel
Adv Pers- V -Asp -T/A2 Vintr -Rel

'Where he use to be over there' (TL Makanaimo 035 <138.288>)

dio ji sa'ji chiya ji englan bona ji
i- to ji sa'ne ji chiya ji englan pona ji
3- go Emph Emph Emph far.away Emph England unto Emph

dio sa'ji, tiudodo'pe ji migi
i- to sa'ne ji t- to -do'pe ji migi
3- go Emph Emph 3.Rfl- go -Purp Emph Hes
Pers- Vintr Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vintr -Vinf Prtcl Prtcl

yegonega'pi
y- egonega -'pi
3- create -Past
Pers- Vtr -T/A2

'He was going away to England, he prepared himself to go' (TL Makanaimo 036 <141.693>)

aijirou ane, dong zerou se aworo'k
aijirou ane dô -nnô serô serô aworo -k
let's.go! wait.Imp Emph -1+2S S.I. this around -Style
? V Intr.Imp Prtcl -Pers Prtcl Pro P -?

kuru dong zerou, se woi enu do boro kuru
kuru to -nnô serô serô wôi enu tô poro kuru
Emph go -1+2S S.I. this sun eye go around Emph
P rtcl V intr -Pers Prtcl Pro N N V intr P Prtcl

'Wait, we will go around here around where the sun's eye is going' (TL Makanaimo 037 <149.905>)

tadane, ôî... ôw! diodane døga'nöbô'
ta -dane ô ôw i- to -dane tô -gabi -nöbôk
say -while shout shout 3- go -while go -Cmpltv -Prog
Vtr -T/A2? SW SW Pers- Vintr -T/A2? Vintr -Asp -T/A3
'While he was about to do that, his relatives talked to him' (TL Makanaimo 038 <156.073>)

haing! nereudai mörö rō, mörö
haing n- ereuda -i mörö rō mörō
drama 3S- sit -RPst that Emph that
SW Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Dem Prtcl Dem

diö'pi ji
i- tō -'pi ji
3- go -Past Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl

'Haing! He stopped then, but then went away' (TL Makanaimo 039 <161.601>)

haing! mörōbang ji dö'pi englan bona diö'pi.
haing mörōbang ji tō -'pi englan pona i- tō -'pi
drama thereafter Emph go -Past England unto 3- go -Past
SW N Prtcl Vintr -T/A2 N P Pers- Vintr -T/A2

nīgabō'ang ne tok ko,
n- ka -bōdī -ang ne tok ko
3S- say -Hab -Pres particularly 3Pl Emph
Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 Prtcl Pro Prtcl

kīrō rō ji ka'pong
kīrō rō ji ka'pong
3Sg.Anim Emph Emph person
Pro Prtcl Prtcl N

'Haing! so he went to England, he went, so they say, the very person.
(TL Makanaimo 040 <164.485>)

ō'rō gang nörō ji englan bona diö'pi
ō'rō bang nörō ji englan pona i- tō -'pi
what for also Emph England unto 3- go -Past
WH P Adv? Prtcl N P Pers- Vintr -T/A2

<Interviewer> 'Why did he go to England?' (TL Makanaimo 041 <169.833>)

englan bona ji diö'pi ji
englan pona ji i- tō -'pi ji
England unto Emph 3- go -Past Emph
N P Prtcl Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl

'He went to England' (TL Makanaimo 042 <171.815>)
'It is really his work they say, so said the white people' (TL Makanaimo 043 <173.999>)

'It was really magunaimô' (TL Makanaimo 044 <179.827>)

'Who else can make such a fine fish hook? (TL Makanaimo 045 <182.341>)

'Can you make fishhooks they asked, the people asked' (TL Makanaimo 046 <184.874>)

'They made fishhooks, they made guns' (TL Makanaimo 047 <189.351>)
mörö gaza ye'pōdí'pǐ,
mörö kaza y-eji -bōdí -'pǐ
that like 3-be -Hab -Past
Dem P Pers- V -Asp -T/A2

'He use to be like that' (TL Makanaimo 048 <192.625>)

kīrō rō kuru magunaimō ka'pong sa'ne
kīrō rō kuru magunaimō ka'pong sa'ne
3SG.Anim Emph Emph Great.Spirit person Emph
Pro Prtcl Prtcl N N Prtcl

ji e'pōdí'pǐ
ji ejī -bōdí -'pǐ
Emph be -Hab -Past
Prtcl V -Asp -T/A2

'He magunaimō the person use to be this way' (TL Makanaimo 049 <196.041>)

wagī ji na'nekJi ji sungwa ji
wagī ji nai -nek ji sungwa ji
good Emph 3.be.Pres -Rel Emph far.away Emph
N Prtcl Vintr -Rel Prtcl Adv Prtcl

mīgī bung ebozia'ya na'kō ji eji'pǐ
mīgī bung eboro -zak -i -ya na'kō ji eji -'pǐ
Hes flesh find -Perf -3 -Erg maybe Emph be -Past
Prtcl N Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Adv Prtcl V -T/A2

'He probably found good iron flesh there in that far place' (TL Makanaimo 050 <199.214>)

wagī rō ji, wa'kadong berō na'nekJi, subara
wagī rō ji wa'ka -dong pe -rō nai -nek subara
good Emph Emph axe -Pl like -Emph 3.be.Pres -Rel cutlass
N Prtcl Prtcl N -Nsfx P -Prtcl Vintr -Rel N

berō na'nekJi, ō'rō berō na'nekJi,
pe -rō nai -nek ō'rō pe -rō nai -nek
P -Prtcl Vintr -Rel WH P -Prtcl Vintr -Rel

konoik pe rō na'kō
konoik be rō na'kō
fishhook like Emph maybe
N P Prtcl Adv

'It was good, maybe it was an axe, maybe it was a cutlass or maybe anything else' (TL Makanaimo 051 <206.075>)
'The one he is now making' (TL Makanaimo 052 <210.691>)

kamoro nìgabò'aihnek,  
kamoro n- ka -bòdì -aik -nek  
3.Pl.Anim 3S- say -Hab -Pres -Rel  
Pro Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 -Rel

magunaimò bayani'sang be tok eji,  
magunaimò payang -'sang pe tok eji  
Great.Spirit grandchildren -Pl like 3Pl be  
N N -NInfl P Pro V

nìgabò'tai tok ko  
n- ka -bòdì -dai tok ko  
3S- say -Hab -Past 3Pl Emph  
Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 Pro Prtcl

'Those they say are the grandchildren of magunaimò, so they say' (TL Makanaimo 053 <212.264>)

kamoro rö ji mìgì rö adamogiridong a  
kamoro rö ji mìgì rö a- tamogori -dong ya  
3.Pl.Anim Emph Emph Hes Emph 2- grandparent -Pl Erg  
Pro Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pers- N -Nsfx P

rö dabòdi'pi mòrò gaza  
rö ta -bòdì -'pi mòrò kaza  
Emph say -Hab -Past that like  
Prtcl Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Dem P

'Those including your grandfather use to say it was like that' (TL Makanaimo 054 <219.324>)

magunaimò kuru ganang ji ezeru be ye'pòdì'pi mòrò  
magunaimò kuru kanang ji ezeru pe y- ejì -bòdì -'pi mòrò  
Great.Spirit Emph already Emph ways like 3- be -Hab -Past A.I.?
N N Prtcl Adv? Prtcl N P Pers- V -Asp -T/A2 ?

'It was magunaimò's ways indeed that use to be like that' (TL Makanaimo 055 <224.121>)

ka'pong dòbiya be na'kò ji ye'pòdì'pi mò?  
ka'pong töbiya pe na'kò ji y- ejì -bòdì -'pi mò  
person beginning like maybe Emph 3- be -Hab -Past Uncrtnt  
N N P Adv Prtcl Pers- V -Asp -T/A2 Prtcl

'Maybe he was use to be the beginnings of man' (TL Makanaimo 056 <227.235>)
önik pe keng, paranagiri be rona'kò be ne'pò'tai
önik pe keng paranagiri pe rona'kò pe nebí -bòdī -dai
who like doubt white people like maybe like bring -Hab -Past
WH P Prtcl N P Prtcl P Vtr -Asp -T/A1

'who he was I don't know maybe he was a white man' (TL Makanaimo 057 <229.969>)

önik pe
önik pe
who like
WH P

'What he was' (TL Makanaimo 058 <232.422>)

önik kaza ji nīgabō'ang...
onik kaza ji n- ka -bòdī -ang
who like Emph 3S- say -Hab -Pres
WH P Prtcl Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1

ye'pòdī'pī nīgabō'ang geng dok?
y- eji -bòdī -'pī n- ka -bòdī -ang keng tok
3- be -Hab -Past 3S- say -Hab -Pres doubt 3P1
P -V -Asp -T/A2 Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 Prtcl Pro

<Interviewer> 'what did they say he looked like?' (TL Makanaimo 059 <233.875>)

eh.. engzak pra rō sak ji möbe
eh ene -zak bra rō sa'ne ji mòrō pe
yes see -Perf Neg Emph Emph Emph that like
Prtcl V -T/A2 Neg Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Dem P

bichai engzak pra rō ji
picha -i ene -zak bra rō y- eji
picture -Psd see -Perf Neg Emph 3- be
N -Ninfl V -T/A2 Neg Prtcl Pers- Vintr

'No one has seen him neither have anyone seen a picture of him' (TL Makanaimo 060 <236.688>)

ka'pong be mīgī möbe egebe rō engzak pra rō ji
ka'pong pe mīgī mòrō pe ege -be rō ene -zak bra rō eji
person like Des that like big -Attr Emph see -Perf Neg Emph be
N P Prtcl Dem P N -Azr Prtcl V -T/A2 Neg Prtcl V

'He has not been seen in person' (TL Makanaimo 061 <241.305>)

ege i'ta da dok a
ege i- pida ta tok ya
big 3- foot say 3P1 Erg
N Pers- N Vtr Pro P

<Interviewer> 'He has a big foot they say' (TL Makanaimo 062 <245.641>)
'He has a big foot they really say' (TL Makanaimo 063 <246.833>)

möröbang e'pödî'pî dauya mörö gaza ning
möröbang eji -bödî -'pî ta -u -ya mörö kaza ning
thereafter be -Hab -Past say -1 -Erg that like Emph
N V -Asp -T/A2 Vtr -Pers -Agr Dem P Prtcl

'There was such an individual I am saying like that' (TL Makanaimo 064 <248.565>)

mörö gaza ene
mörö kaza ene
that like see
Dem V P

'like that, (you) see' (TL Makanaimo 065 <256.026>)

wagîbe kuzang be i'tuuya bra rô
wagî pe kuzang pe i'tu -u -ya bra rô
good like long like know -1 -Erg Neg Emph
N P N P Vtr -Pers -Agr Neg Prtcl

ji mörö na'nek rögeng
egi mörö nai -nek rögeng
be that 3.be.Pres -Rel only
V Dem Vintr -Rel Prtcl

'I do not know the long version of the story but that is all I know'
(TL Makanaimo 066 <258.960>)

tok a biandomiga eda,
tok ya i- pandomiga eda
3Pl Erg 3- take.out.story hear
Pro P Pers- Vtr Vtr

edabö'ningni'pî be e'pödî
eda -bödî -ning -ri'pî pe egi -bödî
hear -Hab -A.Nzr -Past.Psn like be -Hab
Vtr -Asp -Nzr -NTns P V -Asp

'I use to hear them telling the story, and so I am one that use to hear it' (TL Makanaimo 067 <263.978>)
8. TL Piyai'ma Story

piyai'ma ganang, piyai'ma pandomii bra rō?
piyai'ma kanang piyai'ma pandong -i bra rō
giant also giant story -Psd Neg Emph
N Adv? N N -Ninfl Neg Prtcl

<Interviewer> 'What of the piyai'ma, is there a piyai'ma story?' (TL Piyai'ma 001 <0.000>)

piyai'ma rō sa'ji mörō go, piyai'ma
piyai'ma rō sa'ne ji mörō ko piyai'ma
giant Emph Emph Emph that Emph giant
N Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Dem Prtcl N

pandomii rō eji
pandong -i rō eji
story -Psd Emph be
N -Ninfl Prtcl V

'There is that piyai'ma, there is a piyai'ma story' (TL Piyai'ma 002 <3.786>)

ewaik, önïk pe piyai'ma eji nīgabō'ang dok?
ewaik önïk pe piyai'ma eji n- ka -bōdī -ang tok
yes who like giant be 3S- say -Hab -Pres 3Pl
Prtcl? WH P N V Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 Pro

<Interviewer> 'Yes, who they say is the piyai'ma?' (TL Piyai'ma 003 <8.613>)

im.. ewaik pa, ka'pong be rō na'kō,
im ewaik pa ka'pong pe rō na'kō
um yes grandchild person like Emph maybe
Hes Prtcl? N N P Prtcl Adv

önïk pe rō geng ji mō
önïk pe rō keng ji mō
who like Emph doubt Emph Uncrtm
WH P Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

'Im.. I don't know, maybe he is a person, I don't know who he is' (TL Piyai'ma 004 <11.537>)

önïk kaza rōgeng piyai'ma eji mō
önïk kaza rōgeng piyai'ma eji mō
who like only giant be Uncrtm
WH P Prtcl N V Prtcl

'I don't know who piyai'ma looks like' (TL Piyai'ma 005 <14.642>)

nai gaza tok negamabō'ang? önïk pe
nai kaza tok n- egama -bōdī -ang önïk pe
what like 3Pl 3A30- tell -Iter -Pres who like
N P Pro Pers- Vtr -Asp -T/A1 WH P
ji ta dok a
y- eji ta tok ya
3- be say 3Pl Erg
Pers- V Vtr Pro P

<interviewer> 'How do they describe him, who they say he is like?' (TL Piyai'ma 006 <17.045>)

mō berō sa'ne bii'chai rō ene bra rō
mōrō pe -rō sa'ne i- pi'cha -i rō ene bra rō
that like -Emph Cause 3- picture -Pod Emph see Neg Emph
Dem P -Prtc1 Prtc1 Pers- N -Ninf1 Prtc1 V Neg Prtc1

mang go dauwa sa'ne, mōbe rō
mang ko ta -u -wa sa'ne mōrō -be rō
3.be.Pres Emph say -1 -Erg Emph that -Attr Emph
Cop Prtc1 Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtc1 Dem -Azr Prtc1

mīgī rō ene bra rō ji
mīgī rō ene bra rō y- eji
Hes Emph see Neg Emph 3- be
Prtc1 Prtc1 V Neg Prtc1 Pers- V

'His picture is not seen neither has he been seen' (TL Piyai'ma 007 <21.512>)

ane, mīgī rō piyai'chang amōk kaji
ane mīgī rō piyai'chang amōk kaji
wait.Imp Hes Emph shaman Pl lie
Vintr.Imp Prtc1 Prtc1 N Num N

ye tongnōning ya, piyai'ma ta dok rōning sa'ne ji
y- eji -dong nōning ya piyai'ma ta tok nōning sa'ne ji
3- be -A.Nzr only Erg giant say 3Pl only Emph Emph
Pers- V -Nzr Prtc1 P N Vtr Pro Prtc1 Prtc1 Prtc1 Prtc1

'Well, the shaman who are liars say piyai'ma' (TL Piyai'ma 008 <28.081>)

mōbe ayubo jene bra rō ji
mōrō -be ayubo i- z- ene bra rō y- eji
that -Attr clearly 3- Detr- see Neg Emph 3- be
Dem -Azr Adv Pers- Intr- V Neg Prtc1 Pers- V

'neither has he been clearly seen in reality' (TL Piyai'ma 009 <34.431>)

pena na'kō ji ye'pōdī'pī
pena na'kō ji y- eji -bōdī -'pī
long.ago maybe Emph 3- be -Hab -Past
Adv Adv Prtc1 Pers- V -Asp -T/A2

'Maybe he use to be around long ago' (TL Piyai'ma 010 <36.954>)
ka'pong be rō na'kō ne'pŏ'tai,
ka'pong pe rō na'kō nebi -bōdī -dai
person like Emph maybe bring -Hab -Past
N P Prtcl Adv Vtr -Asp -T/A1

'Maybe he was a person' (TL Piyai'ma 011 <40.920>)

ka'pong be sak ye'pōdī'pī mogo
ka'pong pe sa'ne y- eji -bōdī -'pī mogo
person like Emph 3- be -Hab -Past crntty
N P Prtcl Pers- V -Asp -T/A2 Prtcl

pena a'tai ja'ne ji ye'pōdī'pī
pena a'tai sa'ne ji y- eji -bōdī -'pī
long.ago when Emph Emph 3- be -Hab -Past
Adv Conj? Prtcl Pers- V -Asp -T/A2

'He was a person long ago and he use to be there' (TL Piyai'ma 012 <42.642>)

e'tane ji serō be a'kwarī'pī be rōning
e'tane ji serō pe a'kwarī'pī pe nōning
however Emph this like spirit like only
PRTCL? Prtcl Pro P N P Prtcl

ji yenazak
ji y- ena -zak
Emph 3- become -Perf
Prtcl Pers- Vint -T/A2

'However, today he has become a spirit' (TL Piyai'ma 013 <46.268>)

wagi be tenseng be bra rō yeji
wagi pe t- ene -zeng pe bra rō y- eji
good like Adv- see -Abs.Nzr like Neg Emph 3- be
N P ?- V -Nzr P Neg Prtcl Pers- V

'Therefore he is not one to be seen clearly' (TL Piyai'ma 014 <50.103>)

e'tane ji wik po gio'mamī?
e'tane ji wik po i- ko'mamī
but Emph mountain Loc 3- live
PRTCL? Prtcl N P Pers- Vintr

<Interviewer> 'But, does he live in the mountains?' (TL Piyai'ma 015 <52.657>)

wik po sa'ji wik tau sa'ji te'seng
wik po sa'ne ji wik tau sa'ne ji t- eji -zeng
mountain Loc Emph Emph mountain within Emph Emph Adv- be -Abs.Nzr
N P Prtcl Prtcl N P Prtcl Prtcl ?- V -Nzr

'On the mountains, he is one that is within the mountains' (TL Piyai'ma 016 <56.512>)
tabödibök ne tok mang go,
ta -bödī -bök ne tok mang ko
say -Hab -Prog particularly 3Pl 3.be.Pres Emph
Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Prtcl Pro Cop Prtcl

wik tau yeji
wik tau y- eji
mountain within 3- be
N P Pers-V

'So they all say, he is within the mountains' (TL Piyai'ma 017 <59.006>)

wik tawong be rō sa'ji
wik tau -ng pe rō sa'ne ji
mountain within -Nzr like Emph Emph Emph
N P -Nzr P Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

wik tawong be rō ji
wik tau -ng pe rō y- eji
mountain within -Nzr like Emph 3- be
N P -Nzr P Prtcl Pers-V

'He is from within the mountains, he is within the mountains' (TL Piyai'ma 018 <61.499>)

im. be rō na'kō nai,
im pe rō na'kō nai
um like Emph maybe 3.be.Pres
Hes P Prtcl Adv Vintr

'Maybe he is from there' (TL Piyai'ma 019 <64.624>)

önik pe rōgeng, ka'pong be rō sa'ji
önik pe rōgeng ka'pong pe rō sa'ne ji
who like only person like Emph Emph Emph
WH P Prtcl N P Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

yeji mō go, ō'rō be rō geng ji mō
y- eji mō ko ō'rō pe rō keng y- eji mō
3- be Uncrtn Emph what like Emph doubt 3- be Uncrtn
Pers-V Prtcl Prtcl WH P Prtcl Prtcl Pers-V Prtcl

'Who he is, maybe he is human or maybe something else' (TL Piyai'ma 020 <66.866>)

ane ji biandomii
ane ji i- pandong -i
wait.Imp Emph 3- story -Psd
Vintr.Imp Prtcl Pers-N -Ninfl
anegamak, piyai'ma bandomii
an- egama -gō piyai'ma pandong -i
30. Imper- tell -Imper giant story -Psd
Pers- Vtr -T/A N N -Ninfl

<Interviewer> 'Wait, please tell a story about piyai'ma' (TL Piyai'ma 021 <70.713>)

biandomii, ka'pong amōk, mīre yamōk
i- pandong -i ka'pong amōk mīre amōk
3- story -Psd person Pl child Pl
Pers- N -Ninfl N Num N Num N Num

e'ma'tōbō'ning be ye'pōdī'pī
e'ma'tō -bōdī -ning pe y- eji -bōdī -'pī
catch -Hab -A.Nzr like 3- be -Hab -Past
Vtr -Asp -Nzr P Pers- V -Asp -T/A2

'His story? He use to kidnap people and children' (TL Piyai'ma 022 <78.042>)

abine kazu'mingandōu, torong amōk pōk rōna'kō
abine k- azu'minamī -dōu torong amōk pōk rōna'kō
wait 2S.Vet- play -Vet.Pl bird Pl occupied.with maybe
Vimp Pers- Vintr -Imp N Num P Prtcl

te'pō'sang, torong amōk pōk rō
t- eji -bōdī -zang torong amōk pōk rō
Adv- be -Hab -Pl.Nzr bird Pl occupied.with Emph
?- V -Asp -Nzr N Num P Prtcl

mīre amōk e'pōdī'pī
mīre amōk eji -bōdī -'pī
child Pl be -Hab -Past
N Num V -Asp -T/A2

'Wait, do not play they were told, maybe they hunted birds, the children use to hunt the birds' (TL Piyai'ma 023 <82.410>)

aigodong sa'ne kamo na'nek warainogong
aigo -dong sa'ne kamoro nai -nek warai -no -gong
N -Nsfx Prtcl Pro Vintr -Rel P -Nzr -Nsfx

bayang amōk na'nek warainogong nō
bayang nai -nek warai -no -gong nō
grandchildren Pl 3.be.Pres -Rel like -Nzr -Pl.Psr Emph
N Num Vintr -Rel P -Nzr -Nsfx Prtcl

e'pōdī'pī
eji -bōdī -'pī
be -Hab -Past
V -Asp -T/A2

'They were small like those over they were like my grandchildren' (TL Piyai'ma 024 <88.537>)
heey,             tadok rō  piyai'ma tok arōi
heey            ta -dok rō  piyai'ma tok arō      -i
piyai'ma.call say -Nsr Emph giant  3Pl carry -RPst
SW         Vtr -Nsr Prtcl N       Pro Vtr    -T/A1

'Saying 'heey!' (call of the piyai'ma) the piyai'ma took them away' (TL Piyai'ma 025 <93.526>)

mōrō sa'ji       tok arō'piya           ji
mōrō sa'ne ji  tok arō   -'pī   -i    -ya ji
tok that Emph Emph  3Pl carry -Past -3  -Erg Emph
Dem Prtcl Prtcl Pro Vtr    -T/A2    -Pers -Agr Prtcl

'He took them away at that time' (TL Piyai'ma 026 <100.194>)

iwaniya ji     diezek kīrō      rō   ka'pong, iwaniya
iwaniya ji  i-  ezek kīrō      rō   ka'pong iwaniya
Iwaniya Emph  3-  name 3Sg.Anim Emph person Iwaniya
N           Prtcl Pers- N    Pro   Prtcl N    N

'Well the name of one of the human child was Iwaniya' (TL Piyai'ma 027 <104.943>)

iwaniya diezek
iwaniya i-  ezek
Iwaniya 3-  name
N      Pers- N

'Iwaniya was his name' (TL Piyai'ma 028 <108.186>)

mōrōrik biningba'piya,      se  awōrō
mōrōrik pinimi -ba   -'pī   -i    -ya serō awōrō
then  walk -Caus -Past -3    -Erg this around
Adv?  Vintr -VDer -T/A2    -Pers -Agr Pro P

rōk,            chiya       rō   wīk  kaijarō
rō    -k  chiya       rō   wīk  kaijarō
Emph    -Style far.away Emph mountain each
Prtcl  -?   Adv?   Prtcl N    P

sa'ne ji   biningba'piya
sa'ne ji  pinimi -ba   -'pī   -i    -ya
Emph Emph walk -Caus -Past -3   -Erg
Prtcl Prtcl Vintr -VDer -T/A2    -Pers -Agr

'The piyai'ma walk him all over the place, away along each mountain' (TL Piyai'ma 029 <110.611>)

haing! biningbabök      ye'pōdī'pī
haing  pinimi -ba   -bōk y-  eji -bōdī -'pī
drama  walk -Caus -Prog 3-  be -Hab -Past
SW     Vintr -VDer -T/A2 Pers- V    -Asp -T/A2

'Haing! he use to walk him all over the place' (TL Piyai'ma 030 <116.768>)
serō be anenenī?
serō pe a- n- ene -nī
this like 2- O.Nzr- see -Pres.Nzr
Pro P Pers- Nzr- V -Nzr

'Have you seen this?' (TL Piyai'ma 031 <122.296>)

\textbf{ewaik tabōdī'piya,}  \textbf{ewaik}
\textbf{ewaik ta -bōdī -'pī -i -ya ewaik}
yes say -Hab -Past -3 -Erg yes
Pro Tcl? Vtr -Asp -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Pro Tcl?

'yes, he use to say, yes' (TL Piyai'ma 032 <123.778>)

\textbf{kīrō negamainek kaza ewaik,}
kīrō n- egama -i -nek kaza ewaik
3SG.Anim 3A3O- tell -RPst -Rel like yes
Pro Pers- Vtr -T/A1 -Rel P Pro Tcl?

\textbf{tabōdī'piya}
\textbf{ta -bōdī -'pī -i -ya}
say -Hab -Past -3 -Erg
Vtr -Asp -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'Just how he was saying, yes he use to say' (TL Piyai'ma 033 <126.002>)

\textbf{TL Piyai'ma 034 <129.446>}
tōwōrōrō mōrō tegampoiya gaijarō nōrō
tōwōrōrō mōrō t- egampo -i -ya gaijarō nōrō
always that 3.Rfl- ask -3 -Erg in.number also

'All the time as long as he was asked the question'

\textbf{se bek anenenī?}
serō bek a- n- ene -nī
this QP 2- O.Nzr- see -Pres.Nzr
Pro Pro Tcl Pers- Nzr -V -Nzr

'Have you seen this?' (TL Piyai'ma 035 <132.631>)

\textbf{ewaik}
\textbf{ewaik}
yes
Pro Tcl?

'Yes' (TL Piyai'ma 036 <134.194>)

\textbf{mōrō diezek, dieze'tong sa'ne ji}
mōrō i- ezek i- ezek -dong sa'ne ji
that 3- name 3- name -Pl Emph Emph
Dem Pers- N Pers- N -Nsfx Pro Tcl Pro Tcl
egamabôdî'piiya
egama -bôdî -'pî -i -ya
tell -Iter -Past -3 -Erg
Vtr -Asp -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'These are the names he use to tell him, the names of the mountains' (TL Piyai'ma 037 <134.834>)

e'tane dieze'tong nôgeng i'tu bra ji môrô
e'tane i- ezek -dong rôgeng i'tu-Ø bra ji môrô
but 3- name -Pl only know-1+2A Neg Emph A.I.? PRTCL? Pers- N -Nsfx Prtcl Vtr -Pers Neg Prtcl ?

'But we do not know the names' (TL Piyai'ma 038 <139.401>)
môrôdong sa'ne wiktong nô eze'tong
môrô -dong sa'ne wîk -dong nô ezek -dong
that -Pl Emph mountain -Pl Emph name -Pl
Dem -Nsfx Prtcl N -Nsfx Prtcl N -Nsfx

'The names of those mountains' (TL Piyai'ma 039 <141.283>)
i'tuya
i'tu -i -ya
know -3 -Erg
Vtr -Pers -Agr

<Interviewer> 'He knew them' (TL Piyai'ma 040 <142.886>)

eh.. îm egamabôdî'piya
eh îm egama -bôdî -'pî -ya
yes um tell -Iter -Past -Erg
PRTCL Hes Vtr -Asp -T/A2 -Agr

'He use to tell the names' (TL Piyai'ma 041 <143.807>)
môrô ji eji tîbada'sek winôgiik
môrô ji eji t- pada'sek winôgiik
that Emph be 3.Rfl- place.of.home towards
Dem Prtcl V Pers- N P

Chi nie'piya ji môrô
ji i- nebî -'pî -i -ya ji môrô
Emph 3- bring -Past -3 -Erg Emph A.I.? 
PRTCL Pers- Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl ?

'Then, he (the person) brought him (piyai'ma) towards his (person) home' (TL Piyai'ma 042 <146.891>)
anenëni bek se?
a- n- ene -nî bek serô
2- O.Nzr- see -Pres.Nzr QP this
Pers- Nzr- V -Nzr Prtcl Pro

'Have you seen this (place)生产设备' (TL Piyai'ma 043 <153.600>)
kane ta'piya ji mörö, kane
kane ta -'pī -i -ya ji mörö kane
no say -Past -3 -Erg Emph A.I.? no
? Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl ? ?

'No, he said' (TL Piyai'ma 044 <156.404>)

neneri beng zerō
n- ene-nī beng serō
O.Nzr- see -Pres.Nzr Neg this
Nzr- V -Nzr Neg Pro

'I have never seen this' (TL Piyai'ma 045 <159.048>)

tibada'sek pe sa'ji i'tu tuy'a bök chi
t- pada'sek pe sa'ne ji i'tu t- ya bök ji
3.Rfl- place.of.home like Emph Emph know 3.Rfl- Erg WRT Emph
Pers- N Prtcl Prtcl Vtr Pers- P P P Prtcl

migi, tabirindo'pe ji migi mörö
migi t- abirimî -do'pe ji migi mörö
Hes 3.Rfl- escape -Purp Emph Hes A.I.?
Prtcl Pers- Vintr -Vinfl Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl ?

'Because he knew he was closer to his home, he was planning to get away to get away' (TL Piyai'ma 046 <160.910>)

tinonggado'peya
3.Rfl- leave -Purp -3 -Erg
Pers- Vtr -Vinfl -Pers -Agr

'So he could leave him alone.' (TL Piyai'ma 047 <164.857>)

ni'tunī beng zerō
n- i'tu -nī beng serō
O.Nzr- know -Pres.Nzr Neg this
Nzr- Vtr -Nzr Neg Pro

'I do not know this' (TL Piyai'ma 048 <167.138>)

ewaik rō
ewaik rō
yes Emph
Prtcl? Prtcl

'okay' (TL Piyai'ma 049 <168.943>)

TL Piyai'ma 050 <170.263>
zerō diezek serō, diezek chi egama'piya mörö
serō i- ezev serō i- ezev ji egama -'pī -i -ya mörö
this 3- name this 3- name Emph tell -Past -3 -Erg A.I.?
Pro Pers- N Pro Pers- N Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr ?

'This is the name for this place, he said and told him the name of the place' (TL Piyai'ma 027 <104.943>)
môrô diezek
môrô i- eze
that 3- name
Dem Pers- N

'that is its name' (TL Piyai'ma 051 <174.311>)

e'tanek, abînî ji abiyondô'piya
e'tane -k abînî ji abiyondô -'pi -î -ya
but -Style wait Emph order -Past -3 -Erg
PRTCL? -? Vimp Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

tïno'pi na'kô ji abiyondôdai
t- no'pi na'kô ji abiyondô -dai
3.Rfl- wife maybe Emph order -Past
Pers- N Adv Prtcl Vtr -T/A1

'But, he give him a task to do, maybe before he had ordered his wife to do something' (TL Piyai'ma 052 <175.911>)

iwônôiya chi
i- wônô -i -ya ji
3- kill -3 -Erg Emph
Pers- Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl

'He was going to kill him' (TL Piyai'ma 053 <183.624>)

abînî se gaza diôbô'kô, imanumî'pi ji môrô
abînî serô kaza i- tô -bôdî -gô i- manumî -'pi ji môrô
wait this like 3- go -Iter -Imper 3- dance -Past Emph A.I.? Vimp Pro P Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl ?

pesou, sozon, sozon, sozon, sozon
pesou sozon sozon sozon sozon
rythmic.stamping sway.in.dance sway.in.dance sway.in.dance sway.in.dance sway.in.dance
SW SW SW SW SW

'Wait, go around like this he said to the man, piyai'ma showed him by dancing pesou, sozon, sozon, sozon (SSW)' (TL Piyai'ma 054 <185.315>)

môrô ji migî eboi
môrô ji migî eboi
that Emph Hes above
Dem Prtcl Prtcl P

'over the... (Hes)!' (TL Piyai'ma 055 <190.274>)

TL Piyai'ma 056 <192.625>
e'taneng kirô ji iwaniya ji eji môrô môrau,
e'tane -ng kirô ji iwaniya ji eji môrô môrau
but -Style 3Sg.Anim Emph iwaniya Emph be A.I.? there
PRTCL? -? Pro Prtcl N Prtcl V ? Adv

'but he Iwaniya was just there'
'He (Iwaniya) was with his pets, young kewanaru birds which he had taken out!' (TL Piyai'ma 057 <196.162>)

kamoro ewegibôk jing
kamoro ewegi -bôk y- eji -ng
3.Pl.Anim feed -Prog 3- be -Style
Pro Vtr -T/A2 Pers V -?

'He was feeding them' (TL Piyai'ma 058 <199.065>)

nai gaza kuru, nai gaza kuru migainek?
nai kaza kuru nai kaza kuru mî- ka -i -nek
what like Emph what like Emph 2Sa- say -RPst -Rel
N P Prtcl N P Prtcl Pers Vintr -T/A1 -Rel

'Then he (Iwaniya) asked, how did you say it should be done?' (TL Piyai'ma 059 <201.750>)

TL Piyai'ma 060 <204.312>
imi. diegarebôk, ōk. se gaza kuru, se kaza,
Im i- egarebôk ōk serô kaza kuru serô kaza
um 3- after of course! this like Emph this like
Hes Pers- P SW Pro P Prtcl Pro P

'im... he went towards him, ōk! (expression of expectation)'like this' he (piyai'ma) said 'like this'

môrô ji, chiya ji a'tu'mado'pe tuyu, iwôdo'pe
môrô ji chiya ji a'tu'ma -do'pe t- ya i- wônô -do'pe
that Emph far. away Emph push -Purp 3.Rfl Erg 3- kill -Purp

tuwa ji migi môrô abiyondô'piya
t- wa ji migi môrô abiyondô -'pî -i -ya
3.Rfl Erg Emph Pers A.I.? order -Past -3 -Erg
Pers- P Prtcl Prtcl ? Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

He had ask him this again to give him the chance to push him over and to kill him.' (TL Piyai'ma 061 <209.542>)

chi'tok! a'tu'ma'piya ji, kîrô
chi'tok a'tu'ma -'pî -i -ya ji kîrô
push.off push -Past -3 -Erg Emph 3Sg.Anim
SW Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl Pro

ji piyai'ma ji a'tu'ma'piya môrôk;
ji piyai'ma ji a'tu'ma -'pî -i -ya môrô -k
Emph giant Emph push -Past -3 -Erg A.I.? -Style
Prtcl N Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr ? -?

'Chi'tok! (SSW) he pushed him over, he pushed over piyai'ma' (TL Piyai'ma 062 <215.328>)
perororop! dia'mo'ka'pi ji,
perororop i- ta'mo'ka '-pi ji
fall.down 3- SW Pers- -T/A2 Prtcl
Past Emph

iwōnō'piya ji
i- wōnō '-pi -i -ya ji
kill 3- Pers- -Pers -Erg Emph
Past -3 -Prc Emph

'Perororop!(SSW) he fell over and he killed him' (TL Piyai'ma 063
<219.997>)

haing! yabirīm'pi ji kirō rō
haing y- abirīmī '-pi ji kirō rō
escape 3- SW Pers- -T/A2 Prtcl Pro -Prc Emph
Past Emph

ji ka'pong ji abirīm'pi togik, togik
ji ka'pong ji abirīmī '-pi togik togik
Emph person Emph escape -Past running running
Prtcl N Prtcl Vintr -T/A2 SW SW

'Haing! He ran away, that man ran away togik-togik(SSW)' (TL Piyai'ma
064 <223.662>)

haing!
haing
sudden.absence
SW

'Haing!' (TL Piyai'ma 065 <228.929>)

mōrō gaza yeji'pi, mōrō gaza
mōrō kaza y- eji '-pi mōrō kaza
that like 3- be -Past that like
Dem P Pers- V -T/A2 Dem P

'That's how he was like that' (TL Piyai'ma 066 <229.671>)

piyai'ma bandomi mōrō na'nek
piyai'ma pandong mōrō nai -nek
giant story that 3.be.Pres -Rel
N N Dem Vintr -Rel

'This is that piyai'ma story' (TL Piyai'ma 067 <234.597>)

mōrō gaza rōgeng tok a egamabōdī
mōrō kaza rōgeng tok ya egama -bōdī
that like only 3Pl Erg tell -Hab
Dem P Prtcl Pro P Vtr -Asp
'That is how they use to tell it and I use to hear it this way' (TL Piyai'ma 068 <238.043>)

piyai'ma bandomi
piyai'ma pandong
giant story
N N

'The story of piyai'ma' (TL Piyai'ma 069 <244.291>)

ewaik
ewaik
yes
Prtcl?

<Interviewer> 'yes' (TL Piyai'ma 070 <247.086>)

9. TL Turtle Story

ewaik
ewaik
yes
Prtcl?

'yes' (TL Turtle Story 001 <SR 0.000>)

migi ganang, torong amök egarei rö bek nai
migi kanang torong amök egare -i rö bek nai
Hes again bird Pl story -Psd Emph QP 3.be.Pres
Prtcl Adv? N Num N -Ninfl Prtcl Prtcl Vintr

migi rö ok amök, ok amök egarei rö, kaiguji
migi rö ok amök ok amök egare -i rö kaiguji
Hes Emph game Pl game Pl story -Psd Emph jaguar
Prtcl Prtcl N Num N Num N -Ninfl Prtcl N

egarei rö, piyai'ma egarei rö, k
egare -i rö piyai'ma egare -i rö k
story -Psd Emph giant story -Psd Emph r
N -Ninfl Prtcl N N -Ninfl Prtcl N

one'o egarei rö kîrö gaza?
one'o egare -i rö kîrö kaza
abbit story -Psd Emph 3Sg.Anim like
N -Ninfl Prtcl Pro P

<Interviewer> 'Again do you have stories about birds, animals such as
tiger stories, piyai'ma stories and kone'o stories like him before? (TL
Turtle Story 002 <T 2.944>)
kone'o egarei  rö  sa'ne kirörö
kone'o egare -i  rö  sa'ne kirô -rô
rabbit story -Pad  Emph  Emph  3Sg.Anim -Emph
N  N  -Ninfl  Prtcl  Prtcl  Prtcl  Pro  -Prtcl

negamainek  kaza rö  ning  ji  sa'ne
n-  egama -i -nek  kaza rö  ning  ji  sa'ne
3A30- tell -RPst  -Rel  like  Emph  Emph  Emph  Emph
Pers- Vtr  -T/A1  -Rel  P  Prtcl  Prtcl  Prtcl  Prtcl

'There is a kone'o story just like the one he told you' (TL Turtle Story 003 <t 19.087>)

kone'o möröbang  kaiguze  rö  nörö
kone'o möröbang  kaiguji  rö  nörö
rabbit thereafter  jaguar  Emph  also
N  N  N  Prtcl  Adv?

'There is kone'o and also tiger' (TL Turtle Story 004 <b 25.036>)

kaiguze  rö  ingu'töbö'ning  be,  wayamori
kaiguji  rö  ingu'tö -bôdî -ning  pe  wayamori
jaguar  Emph  fool  -Iter -A.Nzr  like  turtle
N  Prtcl  Vtr  -Asp -Nzr  P  N

rö  ingu'töbö'ning  wayamori  yamök
rö  ingu'tö -bôdî -ning  wayamori  amök
Emph  fool  -Hab -A.Nzr  turtle  Pl
Prtcl  Vtr  -Asp -Nzr  N  Num

'he use to fool the tiger or he use to fool the turtle, the turtles' (TL Turtle Story 005 <b 28.360>)

ö'rö  gaza  rö  tok  e'pödî'pî  mô  tok
ö'rö  gaza  rö  tok  eji -bôdî -'pî  mô  tok
what  like  Emph  3Pl  be  -Hab  -Past  Uncrtnt  3Pl
WH  P  Prtcl  Pro  V  -Asp  -T/A2  Prtcl  Pro

ezeru  pena  a'tai  röna'kô,
ezeru  pena  a'tai  röna'kô
ways  long.ago  when  maybe
N  Adv  Conj?  Prtcl

'I do not know what their culture was like long ago, I suppose' (TL Turtle Story 006 <b 34.129>)

ö'rö  gaza  rögeng  tok  ne'pö'tai,
ö'rö  gaza  rögeng  tok  n-  eji -bôdî -dai
what  like  only  3Pl  3S-  be  -Hab  -Past
WH  P  Prtcl  Pro  Pers-  Vintr  -Asp  -T/A1
'I do not know how they use to be, maybe they use to be' (TL Turtle Story 007 <b 39.236>)
humans'

'mörö gaza tok e'pödī'pi mörö
mörö kaza tok eji -bōdī -'pi mörö
that like 3Pl be -Hab -Past A.I.?
Dem P Pro V -Asp -T/A2 ?

'That is how they use to be' (TL Turtle Story 008 <b 42.220>)

<Interviewer> 'Please tell a story then, about the turtle or anything'
(TL Turtle Story 009 <t 46.847>)

'wayamori eji'pi mörö migī pandong ji
wayamori eji -'pi mörö migī pandong eji
turtle be -Past A.I.? Hes story be
N V -T/A2 ? Prtcl N V

'There was once a turtle, this is now the story' (TL Turtle Story 010 <t 51.173>)

'wayamori ya kaiguze ingu'tō'pi
wayamori ya kaiguji ingu'tō -'pi
turtle Erg jaguar fool -Past
N P N Vtr -T/A2

'The turtle fooled the tiger' (TL Turtle Story 011 <b 56.962>)

'abine migī mōng-ng padawaya ek, ane
abine migī mörō -ng -ng padawaya ek ane
wait Hes that -Style -Style Palm.Sp tree wait.Imp
Vimp Prtcl Dem -? -? N N Vintr.Imp

mō bona migī yenō'magō da'piya
mörō pona migī y- eno'ma -gō ta -'pi -i -ya
that into Hes 10- throw -Imper say -Past -3 -Erg
Dem P Prtcl Pers- Vtr -T/A Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'He said, “please throw me away among those padawa trees”' (TL Turtle Story 012 <b 59.565>)
mong-ng padawayya yek mō na'nek
mōrō -ng -ng padawayya yek mōrō nai -nek
that -Style -Style Palm.Sp tree that 3.be.Pres -Rel
Dem -? -? N N Dem Vintr -Rel

'Among those padawa tree, look it over there' (TL Turtle Story 013 <b 65.253>)

chiya tuna a'mu yau tīdōdo'pe migī
chiya tuna a'mu yau tō -do'pe migī
far.away water depths in Adv- go -Purp Hes
Adv? N N P ?- Vintr -Vinfl Prtc1

mōrō chiya yeno'magō daa
mōrō chiya y- eno'ma -gō ta -i -ya
that far.away 10- throw -Imper say -3 -Erg
Dem Adv? Pers- Vtr -T/A Vtr -Pers -Agr

'He said this so that he can flee down to the depths of the river' (TL Turtle Story 014 <b 67.656>)

tīyanōya namaik
t- anō -i -ya namaik
3.Rfl- eat.meat -3 -Erg prevent.Purp
Pers- Vtr -Pers -Agr Adv

'So that the tiger would not eat him' (TL Turtle Story 015 <b 71.722>)

mōrō jik, ong! eno'ma'piya
mōrō ji -k ong eno'ma -'pī -i -ya
that Emph -Style throw throw -Past -3 -Erg
Dem Prtc1 -? SW Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

ji mōrō, kaiguze ya ji eno'ma'pik
ji mōrō kaiguji ya ji eno'ma -'pī -k
Emph A.I.? jaguar Erg Emph throw -Past -Style
Prtc1 ? N P Prtc1 Vtr -T/A2 -?

'So, the tiger threw him away ong! (describing throwing) (TL Turtle Story 016 <b 73.084>)

sa'tuup! tuna gak ji
sa'tuup tuna kak ji
splash water into.liq Emph
SW N P Prtc1

jennajiga'pī
i- z- ennajiga -'pī
3- Detr- throw.into.water -Past
Pers- Intr- Vtr -T/A2

'He fell into the water after he was throw away sa'tuup!(SSW describing splashing sound when falling into a river)' (TL Turtle Story 017 <b 78.531>)
haing, tarai darai darai diö
haing tarai tarai tarai i- tö
sudden.absence crawling crawling crawling 3- go
SW SW SW SW Pers- Vintr

'Haing!(expression of surprise) he went away tarai-darai-
darai(crawling motion)' (TL Turtle Story 018 <b 81.156>)

ang! pow! sungwa ji jembo'pi
ang pow sungwa ji i- sembo -'pi
motion come.to.surface far.away Emph 3- come.to.surface -Past
SW SW Adv Prtcl Pers- Vintr -T/A2

sungwa sa'ji gia'ta bo sungwa tuna ka'ta bo ji
sungwa sa'ne ji i- ka'ta po sungwa tuna ka'ta po ji
far.away Emph Emph 3- edge on far.away water edge on Emph
Adv Prtcl Prtcl Pers- N P Adv N N P Prtcl

'He came up to the surface far away on the edge of the river
pow!(describes motion towards the surface)' (TL Turtle Story 019 <b 84.279>)

mörobang ji egangwagabī ji
mörobang ji egangwaga -gabī ji
thereafter Emph come.out.of.water -Cmpltv Emph
N Prtcl Vintr -Asp Prtcl

diógabī ganang ji
i- tö -gabī kanang ji
3- go -Cmpltv again Emph
Pers- Vintr -Asp Adv? Prtcl

'Then he came out of the water and went its way again' (TL Turtle Story 020 <b 90.890>)

möro e'tane ganang ji kirō rō ji,
möro e'tane kanang ji kirō rō ji
that however again Emph 3Sg.Anim Emph Emph
Dem PRTCL? Adv? Prtcl Pro Prtcl Prtcl

enōmaningnī'pī ganang ji ebogabī ganang
enō'ma -ning -rī'pī kanang ji eboro -gabī kanang
throw -A.Nzr -Past.Psn already Emph find -Cmpltv again
Vtr -Nzr -NTns Adv? Prtcl Vtr -Asp Adv?

'However, he met up again with the same tiger that threw him
away' (TL Turtle Story 021 <b 97.307>)

eboroiya ganang kirörōuya öp!
eboro -1 -ya kanang kirō -rō ya öp
find -3 -Erg again 3Sg.Anim -Emph Erg surprise
Vtr -Pers -Agr Adv? Pro -Prtcl P SW

'He met him again öp!(signalling that there is more to the story)' (TL Turtle Story 022 <b 101.565>)
jemboga'sak, abine
i- sembo -gabi -zak abine
3- come.to.surface -Cmpltv -Perf wait
Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A2 Vimp
domba amōk migī egam'pogō,
tomba amōk migī egami'po -gō
relative Pl Hes ask -Imper
N Num Prtcl Vtr -T/A

'He was up at the surface of the water when the tiger told him he will eat him, then he said ask my relatives first' (TL Turtle Story 023 <b>104.418>)
diomba amōk rīk kamaraiwa
i- tomba amōk nīk kamaraiwa
3- relative Pl change.of.topic anakwa.bird
Pers- N Num Prtcl N
amōk diomba amōk
amōk i- tomba amōk
Pl 3- relative Pl
Num Pers- N Num

'He was lying about this, he was saying that the anakwa(creole name) birds were his relatives' (TL Turtle Story 024 <b>111.579>)
abine, diurīmī ji köző'kwak, köző'kwak, köző'kwak...
abine i- turumī ji köző'kwak köző'kwak köző'kwak
wait 3- whistle Emph bird.call bird.call bird.call
Vimp Pers- Vintr Prtcl SW SW SW
kak.. kak.. kak.. kak egebe ji
kak kak kak kak ege-be ji
bird.call bird.call bird.call bird.call big -Attr Emph
SW SW SW SW N -Azr Prtcl

'Wait and listen to how they are whistling he said, köző'kwak, közoek'kwak! kak..kak..kak, he let him listen to the loud and terrifying squawking' (TL Turtle Story 025 <b>114.512>)
kamoro ji domba amōk,
kamoro ji tomba amōk
3.Pl.Anim Emph relative Pl
Pro Prtcl N Num

'Those are my relatives, he said to the tiger' (TL Turtle Story 026 <b>120.371>)
ök.. kaiguze sa'ne abῑrīmī mōrō dō enggu'tōzai'ya
ök kaiguji sa'ne abῑrīmī mōrō dō enggu'tō -zak -i -ya
surprise! jaguar Emph escape A.I.? Emph trick -Perf -3 -Erg
SW N Prtcl Vintr ? Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr
The tiger hastily ran away in fear. (Describing desperate running) 

They are all my relatives, those are my relatives. 

Haing, he got away and that is how the tiger was. 

That is how he used to be, in that very way. 

That is all, that is how his story is. 

TL Turtle Story 027
TL Turtle Story 028
TL Turtle Story 029
TL Turtle Story 030
TL Turtle Story 031
Part II. Personal Narratives

IIA. Zauro'n'odok

10. AE Personal Narrative

1. AE Personal Narrative

<i>Interviewer</i> 'How do you really make kasiri(local Alcoholic beverage) Anette?' (AE Personal Narrative 007 <36.333>)

ani aze gamak mörö bök aza rogi wabiya,
an i a- z- egama -gō mörö pök a- saurogi wabiya
wait.Imp 2- Detr- tell -Imper that about 2- talk before
Vintr.Imp Pers- Intr- Vtr -T/A Dem P Pers- Vintr P

<i>Interviewer</i> 'But wait awhile, tell me about yourself before you talk about
that' (AE Personal Narrative 008 <40.559>)

önik pe ezek eji, mígī awōbiya egamauya
önik be ezek eji mígī a- wōbiya egama -au -ya
who like name be Hes 2- age tell -2 -Erg
WH P N V Prtcl Pers- N Vtr -Pers -Agr

<i>Interviewer</i> 'what is your name, and you will tell your age' (AE Personal Narrative 009 <43.844>)

nai au endu'pī dauya rō
nai yau endu -'pī ta -au -ya rō
where Loc be.born -Past say -2 -Erg Emph
N P Vintr -T/A2 Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl

<i>Interviewer</i> 'you also can say where you were born' (AE Personal Narrative 010 <47.529>)

serō au endu'pī waramadang bo
serō yau a- endu -'pī waramadang po
this Loc 2- be.born -Past Waramadong Loc
Pro P Pers- Vintr -T/A2 N P

'I was born here in Waramadang' (AE Personal Narrative 011 <49.953>)

uzanong eji TL, ML, zanon ri'kwō gamoro
u- anong eji TL ML anong ri'kwō kamoro
1- parents be TL ML parents Dim 3.Pl.Anim
Pers- N V N N N N N Adv? Pro

'The name of my parents are TL and ML, they
are my beloved parents' (AE Personal Narrative 012 <55.139>)
They are the ones, my father is one who is from Venezuela. (AE Personal Narrative 013 <60.949>)

My mother is from a savannah tribe in the same Venezuela but the only difference is that they live in the savannah. (AE Personal Narrative 014 <66.335>)

This is where my mother M came from. (AE Personal Narrative 015 <72.125>)

That is why we are all mixed, I don't know how. (AE Personal Narrative 016 <76.009>)

Maybe we are Akawaios, can't say who we really are. (AE Personal Narrative 017 <78.944>)
i'tuya bogeng bra ji, Akawaio be
i'tu -u -ya bogeng bra eji Akawaio pe
know -l -Erg like.manner Neg be Akawaio like
Vtr -Pers -Agr P Neg V N P

rì'kwò rò na'kò ji a'âi pìze urò
rì'kwò rò na'kò ji a'âi pìze urò
Dim Emph maybe Emph mother this.Anim 1Sg

sang nok ne'tai
sang nok n- eji -dai
mother grandmother 3S- be -Past
N N Pers- V -T/A1

'I do not know, but my mother's grandmother was Akawaio' (AE Personal Narrative 018 <82.218>)

mòrò wenai ji Akawaio be kuru eji diuwa
mòrò wenai ji Akawaio pe kuru eji ta u- ya
that because Emph Akawaio like Emph be say l- Erg
Dem P Prtcl N P Prtcl V Vtr Pers- P

'That is why I can say that I am really Akawaio' (AE Personal Narrative 019 <90.220>)

ge se rau ji, Waramadong bo te'seng be eshi,
i- ke se yau ji Waramadong po t- eji -zeng pe eji
3- Instr this in Emph Waramadong Loc Adv- be -Abs.Nzr like be
Pers- P Dem P Prtcl N P ?- V -Nzr P V

'here, the one who lives at Waramadong' (AE Personal Narrative 020 <93.344>)

urò munggamòk eji seven gaijaronggong
urò munggò amòk eji gaijarò -ng -gong
1Sg children Pl be in.number -Nzr -Pl.Psr
Pro Npsd Num V Adv -Nzr -Nsfx

esugenanggong uri'chang amòk
ezugeng -ang -gong uri'chang amòk
of.one.kind -Nzr -Pl.Psr female Pl
Adv -Nzr -Nsfx N Num

'My children are seven in number, they are all girls' (AE Personal Narrative 021 <96.459>)

warawok pra, warawok pòk rò da'kwargazak e'tane,
warawok bra warawok pòk rò d- a'kwarga -zak e'tane
boy Neg boy WRT Emph Detr- force -Perf although
N Neg N P Prtcl Intr- Vtr -T/A2 Prtcl?

'There is no boy although I have desperately tried to have one' (AE Personal Narrative 022 <101.296>)
'I live like this with no boy up to now' (AE Personal Narrative 023 <105.633>)

'mire eborobök laspang mang urō mire
mire eboro -bōk aspang mang urō mire
child find -Prog last.one 3.be.Pres 1Sg child
N Vtr -T/A2 N Cop Pro N

'I live making a child, there is my last child' (AE Personal Narrative 024 <108.286>)

tri years ri'kwō yeshi mōrō, urō mire ri'kwō laspang
tri years ri'kwō y- eji mōrō urō mire ri'kwō aspang
three years Dim 3- be A.I.? 1Sg child Dim last.one

'She is three years old, my last little child' (AE Personal Narrative 025 <111.421>)

urō ej eji mōrō forti-for years urō ej eji serōbe kuru
urō ej eji mōrō urō ej eji serō -be kuru
1Sg age be A.I.? 1Sg age be this -Attr Emph
Pro N V ? Pro N V Pro -Azr Prtcl

'My age is forty-four years and that is my age presently' AE Personal Narrative 026 <115.817>)

am... go'mangaik ri'kwō rō se rau
am ko'mamī -aik ri'kwō rō se yau
um live -Pres Dim Emph this Loc
Prtcl Vintr -T/A1 Adv? Prtcl Dem P

'I am living here' (AE Personal Narrative 027 <122.156>)

urō dam'pī eshi L,
urō tamī'pī eji L
1Sg husband be L
Pro N V N

'My husband is L.' (AE Personal Narrative 028 <126.513>)

nya eseboro'pī L a'kōrō, nya emari'ma'pī
nya e'- eboro -'pī L a'kōrō nya emari'ma -'pī
1+3 Detr- find -Past L Instr 1+3 get.married -Past
Pro Intr- Vtr -T/A2 N P Pro Vintr -T/A2

'L and I met and then we got married' (AE Personal Narrative 029 <128.024>
pasta abdool a nya mari'ma'pi mang
pasta abdool ya nya mari'ma'pi mang
Pastor Abdul Erg 1+3 marry 3.be.Pres
N Abdul P Pro Vtr Cop

'Pastor Abdool married us' (AE Personal Narrative 030 <131.139>)

môrô kasa tîgo'mangzang nya serô waramadang bo
môrô kaza t- ko'mamî -zang nya serô waramadang po
that like Adv- live -Pl.Nzr 1+3 this Waramadong Loc
Dem P ?- Vintr -Nzr Pro Pro N P

'That's how we all live here at Waramadong' (AE Personal Narrative 031 <133.712>)

serô rî'kwô ji nya go'mamî sa'mang be rô
serô rî'kwô eji nya ko'mamî sa'mang pe rô
this Dim be 1+3 live hard like Emph
Pro Adv? V Pro Vintr N P Prtcl

'We all live here in a hard way' (AE Personal Narrative 032 <138.129>)

serô nong bo
serô nong po
this earth on
Pro N P

'on this earth' (AE Personal Narrative 033 <142.405>)

nya a giubi bra wagibe kuru house,
nya ya i- kubi bra wagî be kuru
1+3 Erg 3- do Neg good like Emph
Pro P Pers- Vtr Neg N P Prtcl

ebo ôudô eboro nya a bra
eboro ôudô eboro nya ya bra
find house find 1+3 Erg Neg
Vtr N Vtr Pro P Neg

'We are not doing very well, we have not yet found a good house' (AE Personal Narrative 034 <143.717>)

ôudôdong nya rî'kwô rô e'tane nya e'traimadane rî'kwô rô,
ôudô -dong nya rî'kwô rô e'tane nya e'traima -dane rî'kwô rô
house -Pl 1+3 Dim Emph although 1+3 try -while Dim Emph

'Although we are trying for a house although we are trying generally' (AE Personal Narrative 035 <148.223>)

tîhomgong rî'kwô i'che
t- hom -gong rî'kwô i- 'che
3.Rfl- home -Pl.Psr Dim 3- Desid
'Although we would want a home a proper home' (AE Personal Narrative 036 <151.509>)

'nja ri'kwö migi bra ro nja aburui bra ri'kwöro ro ji
nja ri'kwö migi bra ro nja aburui bra ri'kwö -ro ro eji
1+3 Dim this Neg Emph 1+3 goods Neg Dim -Emph Emph be
Pro Adv? Pro Neg Prtcl Pro N Neg Adv? -Prtcl Prtcl V

'We do not have any house articles or things' (AE Personal Narrative 037 <154.051>)

'nyi trawasomadok biök pawa saa
nyi trawazoma -dok i- pök pawa saa
1+3 work -Inst.Nzr 3- WRT power saw
Pro Vintr -Nzr Pers- P N? N

'Warai'ning ro ösödo
warai -'ne -ang ro özo -dong
like -Indiv -Nzr Emph dangerous -Pl
P -Num -Nzr Prtcl N -Nsfx

'There is nothing for us to work with such as the power saw
which is a dangerous tool' (AE Personal Narrative 038 <157.195>)

'mörö bra ro ji
mörö bra ro eji
that Neg Emph be
Dem Neg Prtcl V

'it is not there' (AE Personal Narrative 039 <162.403>)

'mörö wenai ri'kwö nja hom mang se gaza ri'kwöro
mörö wenai ri'kwö nja hom mang se kaza ri'kwö -ro
that because Dim 1+3 home 3.be.Pres this like Dim -Emph

'That is why our home is like this' (AE Personal Narrative 040 <163.364>).

'nyi ri'kwöro e'traimadane
nyi ri'kwö -ro e'traima -dane
1+3 Dim -Emph try -while
Pro Adv? -Prtcl Vintr -T/A2?

'Although we are trying our best' (AE Personal Narrative 041 <165.808>)
'Although we have gotten all the other things' (AE Personal Narrative 042 <167.390>)

'nyā rī'kwō rō  ebōbō'sak  tamboro  rī'kwōrō  e'tane
nyā rī'kwō rō  eboro -bōdi -zak  tamboro  rī'kwō -rō  e'tane
1+3 Dim  Emph  find  -Hab  -Perf  all  Dim  -Emph  although

'We live just like this' (AE Personal Narrative 043 <169.613>)

'mōrō wenai  nya mang  se  gaza
mōrō wenai  nya mang  se  kaza
that because 1+3  3.be.Pres  this  like
Dem  P  Pro  Cop  Dem  P

'That is why we are like this' (AE Personal Narrative 044 <171.556>)

'mōrō  e'tane  se  ji  pona dō  zerō
mōrō  eji  -dane  serō  ji  pona  tō  serō
that  be  -while  this  Emph  unto  go  S.I.
Dem  V  -T/A2?  Pro  Prtcl  P  Vintr  Prtcl

'while that is so, I will now go unto this' (AE Personal Narrative 045 <174.500>)

'mōrō  gasa  rī'kwō  mungamōk  rī'kwōrō  shi  gu'aik
mōrō  kaza  rī'kwō  mungō  amōk  rī'kwō  -rō  ji  kubī  -aik
that  like  Dim  children  Pl  Dim  -Emph  Emph  make  -Pres

'That is how I am bringing up my children also' (AE Personal Narrative 046 <177.385>)

'kā'pong  be  rī'kwōrō  tok  eshi
kā'pong  be  rī'kwō  -rō  tok  eji
person  like  Dim  -Emph  3Pl  be
N  P  Adv?  -Prtcl  Pro  V

'They identify and live as Akawaio' (AE Personal Narrative 047 <179.477>)

'e'tane  sungwa  rī'kwōrō  tok  mang,  veneswela  bo  tok  eshi,
e'tane  sungwa  rī'kwō  -rō  tok  mang  veneswela  po  tok  eji
however  far.away  Dim  -Emph  3Pl  3.be.Pres  Venezuela  Loc  3Pl  be

'However, they are far away at this time, they are in Venezuela' (AE Personal Narrative 048 <181.150>)
'They work in Caracas (AE Personal Narrative 049 <183.543>)

karakas po tok wórkma
karakas po tok wórkma
Caracas Loc 3Pl work
N    P    Pro Vintr

'They are helping me and they are supporting us' (AE Personal Narrative 050 <184.695>)

kamoro a ri'kwô rô urô helpma, nya soportma
kamoro ya ri'kwô rô urô helpma nya soportma
3.Pl.Anim Erg Dim Emph 1Sg help 1+3 support
Pro  P    Adv?  Prtcl Pro Vtr  Pro Vtr

nyarî'kwô rô pradaï diiri tok a, nya
nyari'kwô rô prada -i tirî tok ya nya
1+3 Dim Emph money -Psrd give 3Pl Erg 1+3
Pro Adv?  Prtcl N    -Ninfl Vtr  Pro P  Pro

pong-dong ennôgi dok a
pong -dong ennôgi tok ya
clothes -Pl send 3Pl Erg
N    -Nsfx Vtr  Pro P

'They even give us money and they send clothing for us' (AE Personal Narrative 051 <188.490>)

wagibe ri'kwô rô, nya sabadoidong
wagi be ri'kwô rô nya sabado -i -dong
good like Dim Emph 1+3 shoe -Psrd -Pl
N    P    Adv?  Prtcl Pro N    -Ninfl  -Nsfx

nô tamboro nô, tamboro ri'kwô rô
nô tamboro nô tamboro ri'kwô rô
Emph all Emph all Dim Emph

'Our shoes and everything, it is good as they send everything' (AE Personal Narrative 052 <193.328>)

nya werz amôk tamboro rô
nya werz amôk tamboro rô
1+3 wares Pl    all Emph
Pro N    Num Adv  Prtcl

'Our wares and everything' (AE Personal Narrative 053 <196.021>)

môrô gaza ri'kwô rô nya munggô amôk ya nya biga'tô
môrô kaza ri'kwô rô nya munggô amôk ya nya piga'tô
that like Dim Emph 1+3 children Pl Erg 1+3 help
Dem  P    Adv?  Prtcl Pro Npsd  Num P  Pro Vtr

'It is like this that our children are helping us' (AE Personal Narrative 054 <197.754>)
warawok amök pe bra tok e'tane uri'chang amök pe kuru
warawok amök pe bra tok eji -dane uri'chang amök pe kuru
boy Pl like Neg 3Pl be -while female Pl like Emph
N Num P Neg Pro V -T/A2? N Num P Prtcl

'This they do while they are not males but while they are just females' (AE Personal Narrative 055 <200.388>)

warawok amök endai tok eshi diuwa
warawok amök ene -dai tok eji ta u- ya
boy Pl see -Past 3Pl be say 1- Erg
N Num V -T/A1 Pro V Vtr Pers- P

'They are even better than the males I say' (AE Personal Narrative 056 <202.520>)

warawok amök eshi sungwa te'taribazang
warawok amök eji sungwa t- e'tariba -zang
boy Pl be far.away Adv- get.drunk -Pl.Nzr
N Num V Adv ?- Vintr -Nzr

migí rō önnó rō tok e'tariba
migí rō önnó rō tok e'tariba
Hes Emph far.away Emph 3Pl get.drunk
Prtcl Prtcl Adv Prtcl Pro Vintr

'The male children is always the ones to get drunk, they get drunk far away' (AE Personal Narrative 057 <204.514>)

tok estapma mörö gaza bra kwō streṭ pe
tok estapma mörö kaza bra ri'kwō streṭ pe
3Pl stop that like Neg Dim straight like
Pro Vintr Dem P Neg Adv? N P

ri'kwō tibradaigong nebi tok a
ri'kwō t- prada -i -gong nebi tok ya
Dim 3.Rfl- money -Psrd -Pl.Psr bring 3Pl Erg
Adv? Pers- N -Ninfl -Nsfx Vtr Pro P

'They stop and do this, but the female (children) would not do this, instead they bring their money straight home' (AE Personal Narrative 058 <208.789>)

möröbanggong a ri'kwō ji reba mörö tu'ke ri'kwō
möröbang -gong ya ri'kwō ji reba mörö tu'ke ri'kwō thereafter -Pl.Abs Erg Dim Emph give A.I.? many Dim

tok eji ge, tri gaijarō ri'kwō tok eshi ge ri'kwō
tok eji ke tri gaijarō ri'kwō tok eji ke ri'kwō
3Pl be Instr three in.number Dim 3Pl be Instr Dim

'Then they give me money and it is enough because they are plenty and because there are three of them' (AE Personal Narrative 059 <212.726>)
tok rĩ'kwō ji ze'mazak prada rĩ'kwō nebi tok a
tok rĩ'kwō ji z- e'ma -zak prada rĩ'kwō nebi tok ya
3Pl Dim Emph Detr- pay -Perf money Dim bring 3Pl Erg

'They get paid and then they bring the money' AE Personal Narrative 060 <216.761>)

mõrõ wenai rĩ'kwō rō wagibe rĩ'kwō rō
mõrõ wenai rĩ'kwō rō wagĩ pe rĩ'kwō rō
that because Dim Emph good like Dim Emph

nya rĩ'kwō go'mandane
nya rĩ'kwō ko'mamĩ -dane
1+3 Dim live -while
Pro Adv? Vintr -T/A2?

'For this reason we live a bit well' (AE Personal Narrative 061 <219.596>)

nya mang diuwa rō, önno rō nya eshi
nya mang ta u- ya rō önno rō nya eji
1+3 3.be.Pres say 1- Erg Emph far.away Emph 1+3 be
Pro Cop Vtr Pers- P Prtcl Adv Prtcl Pro V

'We are I am saying, we are far away' (AE Personal Narrative 062 <222.750>)

mõrõ wenai nya mang mõrõ gaza diuwa
mõrõ wenai nya mang mõrõ kaza ta u- ya
that because 1+3 3.be.Pres that like say 1- Erg
Dem P Pro Cop Dem P Vtr Pers- P

'For this reason we are like this I am saying' (AE Personal Narrative 063 <225.484>)

11. PS Personal Narrative

ka'pong be auro'kauya zerõ pabai,
ka'pong pe a- auro'ka -u -ya serõ pabai
person like 2- tell -1 -Erg this father
N P Pers- Vtr -Pers -Agr Pro Voc

<Interviewer> 'I will talk to you in Akawaio father' (PS. Personal Narrative 001 <000.000.1>)

migi anni'tubai eeji nai
migi an- i'tu -bai a- eeji nai
Hes 30.Desid- know -Desid 2- be 3.be.Pres
Prtc1 Pers- Vtr -Vdrv Pers- Vintr Vintr
abai aye'sak tugaik asaurogi i'che aik,
abai a- yebi -zak tugaik a- saurogi i- 'che eji -aik
from 2- come -Perf like 2- talk 3- Desid be -Pres
P Pers- Vint -T/A2 P Pers- Vintr Pers- P Vintr -T/A1

Interviewer: 'I would like you to talk about where you came from' (PS. Personal Narrative 002 <000.000.2>)

mm.. ō'rō dugaik serau eena'pi,
mm ō'rō tugaik serau a- ena -'pi
mm what like here 2- become -Past
SW WH P Adv Pers- Vint -T/A2

Interviewer: 'How you come to be here' (PS. Personal Narrative 003 <000.000.3>)

ō'rō dugaik auyebi'pi tugaik
ō'rō tugaik a- yebi -'pi tugaik
what in.what.way 2- come -Past in.what.way
WH P Pers- Vint -T/A2 P

rō auzaurogi zerō.
rō a- saurogi serō
Emph 2- talk S.I.
Prtcl Pers- Vintr Prtcl

Interviewer: 'You will talk about how you came?' (PS. Personal Narrative 004 <000.000.4>)

Mōraba jì azaaurogi'pi diboi
Mōrō abai jì a- saurogi -'pi tībo -i
that from Emph 2- talk -Past after -Psd
Dem P Prtcl Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Pos -Ninfl

migī pandong egamaba aza'rōrō,
migī pandong egama -ba aza'rō -rō
Hes story tell -in.order.to two -Emph
Prtcl N Vtr -T/A2? Num -Prtcl

Interviewer: 'Then after you talk, then you can tell a story maybe two' (PS. Personal Narrative 005 <000.000.5>)

osourau rō pandong egamaba dauya,
ozourau rō pandong egama -ba ta -u -ya
three Emph story tell -in.order.to say -1 -Erg
Adv Prtcl N Vtr -T/A2? Vtr -Pers -Agr

Interviewer: 'maybe tell three stories, I say' (PS. Personal Narrative 006 <000.000.6>)

ane jì esara'tōk, ka'pong be azaaurogi mōrō.
ane jì esara'tō -gō ka'pong pe a- saurogi mōrō
wait.Imp Emph start -Imper person like 2- talk Put
Vintr.Imp Prtcl Vintr -T/A N P Pers- Vintr Prtcl?

Interviewer: 'wait and start, you will speak in Akawaio' (PS. Personal Narrative 007 <000.000.7>)
a.. Atauro, atauro mi’tuand?
a  Atauro Atauro mǐ-  i’tu -ang
ah Ataro Ataro 2A-  know -Pres
hes N  N  Pers- Vtr -T/A1

'Do you know Ataro, Ataro?' (PS. Personal Narrative 008 <044.915>)

kugui abōri
ku’kui abō  -ri
ku’kui tributary -Psd
N  N  -Ninfl

'A tributary of Kukui' (PS. Personal Narrative 009 <049.201>)

serōbe tok eji mōrō
serō pe tok eji mōrō
this like 3Pl be  A.I.?
pro P  pro vintr ?

'Today they are' (PS. Personal Narrative 010 <050.744>)

wayara yeng diesel ka’tau
wayara eng i-  ezek ka’tau
macaw cave 3-  name high
N  N  Pers- N  Adv

'at a high place named Wayara yeng (Macaw's cave)' (PS. Personal Narrative 011 <053.687>)

wik  i’pai bong  ka’tawong, ka’tawong, ka’tau
wik  i’pai po  -ng  ka’tau  -ng  ka’tau  -ng  ka’tau
mountain top  Loc  -Nzr  high  -Nzr  high  -Nzr  high
N  N  P  -Nzr  Adv  -Nzr  Adv  -Nzr  Adv

'At the top of a high, high mountain' (PS. Personal Narrative 012 <056.993>)

mm.. mirau sa’ nya es’pi  shi
mm  mōrau sa’ne nya eji  ’-pi’  ji
mm  there Emph 1+3 be  -Past Emph
sw  Adv  Prtcl  pro vintr  -T/A2  Prtcl

'We use to be there then' (PS. Personal Narrative 013 <059.114>)

mōrō tau boi shi ye’sak kong nya
mōrō tau poi ji yebl -zak gong nya
that within near Emph  come -Perf  P1  1+3
dem  P  P  Prtcl  vint  -T/A2  sfx  pro

'From within that place we have come' (PS. Personal Narrative 014 <065.085>)
serak shi, Waramadang bona shi
serō yak ji Waramadang pona ji
this into Emph Waramadong unto Emph
Pro P Prtcl N P Prtcl

'Here, unto Waramadong' (PS. Personal Narrative 015 <066.524>)

a.. a.. serirī shi mikī ko'mangsak rō, serau rō
a a serō -rō ji mīgī ko'mamī -zak rō serau rō
ah ah this -Emph Emph Hes live -Perf Emph here Emph
Hes Hes Pro -Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl Adv Prtcl

'I have really lived here now within here' (PS. Personal Narrative 016 <068.550>)

paba wa jozek isak chi'kōrō
paba wa jozek isak chi'kōrō
father Erg Joseph Isaac following
N P N P

'Since the time of Joseph Isaac' (PS. Personal Narrative 017 <076.598>)

mōrōge serau eji, mōrō winnō ye'sak urō dawu
mōrō ke serau eji mōrō winō yebī -zak urō ta -u -wa
that Instr here be that from come -Perf 1Sg say -1 -Erg
Dem P Adv Vintr Dem P Vint -T/A2 Pro Vtr -Pers -Agr

'That is why I am here, I came from there I am saying' (PS. Personal Narrative 018 <079.335>)

am ...atauro winnō
am Ataro winō
um Ataro from
Prtcl N P

'From Ataro side' (PS. Personal Narrative 019 <083.068>)

e'tane ji serau ko'mangsak rō ji mang
e'tane ji serau ko'mamī -zak rō ji mang
however Emph here live -Perf Emph Emph 3.be.Pres
PRTCL? Prtcl Adv Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Cop

'However, I have really lived here' (PS. Personal Narrative 020 <084.249>)

ingge kru rō
ingge kuru rō
long.time Emph Emph
Adv Prtcl Prtcl

'For a long time' (PS. Personal Narrative 021 <086.233>)
mørö wenong  urö dauwa  ning ji
mørö winö -ng  urö ta -u  -wa ning eji
that from  -Nzr 1Sg say -1  -Erg Emph be
Dem  P  -Nzr  Pro  Vtr  -Pers  -Agr  Prtcl  Vintr

'I am saying that I am from there' (PS. Personal Narrative 022 <087.574>)

tîno'pîge  bek  eeji,  ô'rö gaijarö
t-  no'pî -ge  bek  a-  eji  ô'rö gaijarö
Adv-  wife  -Posd  QP  2-  be  what  in.number
?  N  -Azr  Prtcl  Pers-  Vintr  WH  Adv

amunggöamök  eeji?
a-  munggö  amök  eji
2-  children  Pl  be
Pers-  Npsd  Num  Vintr

<Interviewer> 'Do you have a wife and how many children you have?' (PS. Personal Narrative 023 <090.839>)

ô'rö kaisharö  rönamo  tok  mang,  sikspe  na'köl  tok  nai
ô'rö kaisharö  rönamo  tok  mang  sikspe  na'köl  tok  nai
what  in.number  uncrtn  3Pl  3.be.Pres  six  like  maybe  3Pl  3.be.Pres
WH  P  Prtcl  Pro  Cop  Num  P  Adv  Pro  Vintr

'I do not know how many they are, maybe there are six' (PS. Personal Narrative 024 <094.504>)

sikspe  tok  eeji  mørö
sikspe  tok  eeji  mørö
six  like  3Pl  be  A.I.?
Num  P  Pro  Vintr  ?

'There are six' (PS. Personal Narrative 025 <097.569>)

a.  a.  pize  mang  tidam'pîge
a  a  pize  mang  t-  tamî'pî -ge
ah  ah  this.Anim  3.be.Pres  Adv-  husband  -Posd
Hes  Hes  Pro  Cop  ?-  N  -Azr

'This one has a husband' (PS. Personal Narrative 026 <098.830>)

ım.  mm.  a.  ipi  mang  tîno'pîge
ım  mm  a  i-  pi  mang  t-  no'pî -ge
um  mm  ah  3-  younger.brother  3.be.Pres  Adv-  wife  -Posd
Hes  SW  Hes  Pers-  N  Cop  ?-  N  -Azr

'Her little brother has a wife' (PS. Personal Narrative 027 <106.161>)

bišgorok  mang  tîno'pîge
i-  pógorö -k  mang  t-  no'pî -ge
3-  after  -Style  3.be.Pres  Adv-  wife  -Posd
Pers-  P  ?  Cop  ?-  N  -Azr

'The one after him is with wife' (PS. Personal Narrative 028 <110.887>)
'The one after is with wife' (PS. Personal Narrative 029 <113.252>)

las pang rōgen eji mōrau
as pang rōgen eji mōrau
last one only be there
N Prtcl Vintr Adv

'The last one is the only one who is there' (PS. Personal Narrative 030 <115.834>)

mōrau sa'ji urō enshi mang ko, mô tong bo
mōrau sa'ji urō enji mang ko mōrô tong po
there Emph 15g daughter 3.be.Pres Emph that town Loc
Adv Prtcl Pro N Cop Prtcl Dem N P

'There is my daughter who is in town (meaning Georgetown)' (PS. Personal Narrative 031 <117.819>)

tok eneuya bra mang tok eneya bra serōbe
tok ene -u -ya bra mang tok ene -u -ya bra serō pe
3Pl see -1 -Erg Neg 3.be.Pres 3Pl see -1 -Erg Neg this like
Pro V -Pers -Agr Neg Cop Pro V -Pers -Agr Neg Pro P

'I have not seen them, I have not seen them recently' (PS. Personal Narrative 032 <122.303>)

mōrōge tu'ke rō tok enazak mang
mōrō ke tu'ke rō tok ena -zak mang
that Instr many Emph 3Pl become -Perf 3.be.Pres
Dem P Quant Prtcl Pro Vint -T/A2 Cop

'Therefore, they have multiplied' (PS. Personal Narrative 033 <125.851>)

tīno'pīge tok enabō'ka'sak
ti no'pî -ge tok ena -bōdi -gabî -zak
Adv- wife -Posd 3Pl become -Pl.Abs -Cmpltv -Perf
? N -Azr Pro Vint -Asp -Asp -T/A2

'They individually is already with wives (PS. Personal Narrative 034 <129.654>)

mōrō gaza go'mang aik
mōrō kaza ko'mamî eji -aik
that like live be -Pres
Dem P Vintr Vintr -T/A1

'That is how I am living' PS. Personal Narrative 035 <131.980>
"What do you do at this time? You are having a farm? (PS. Personal Narrative 036 <136.003>)"

"I do have a farm, there is my farm, over there!!! My farm is at the foot of the mountain' (PS. Personal Narrative 037 <139.791>)

"That is where I came out from on Friday, I came out then' (PS. Personal Narrative 038 <144.345>)

"Whose relative are you, who are your relatives here? (PS. Personal Narrative 039 <147.162>)

"JI was our father' (PS. Personal Narrative 040 <152.938>)
tomba be, piroda pe shi'pi

'the one who settled us here, JI is the one who settled us here' (PS. Personal Narrative 043 <164.947>)
migī tok kii-pinidong winō mōrō ji am..

Hes 3pl father -pl from that emph um
Prtcl Pro N -nsfx P Dem Prtcl Prtcl

"From their father's side that" (PS. Personal Narrative 047 <179.106.2>)

önik airō ML amōk, Lang ji eji iproda be
önik airō ML amōk L -ang ji eji i- piroda pe
who sympathy ML Pl L -pl emph be 3- brother like
WH Prtcl N Num N -Num Prtcl Vintr Pers- N P

"Who is it? the ML's, the L's were his brothers" (PS. Personal Narrative 048 <186.758>)

nya ruitong be tok eshi
nya rui -dong pe tok eji
1+3 eldest.brother -pl like 3pl be
Pro N -nsfx P Pro Vintr

"They were our brothers" (PS. Personal Narrative 049 <190.683>)

aing! ML bra mang, L ri'kwō rōgeng
haing ML bra mang L ri'kwō rōgeng
sudden.absence ML Neg 3.be.Pres L Dim only
SW N Neg Cop N Adv? Prtcl

"Haing! (expression regretting absence) ML is not here only poor L" (PS. Personal Narrative 050 <192.066>)

mōrō gaza mang, nya eji mōrō gaza serau
mōrō kaza mang nya eji mōrō kaza serau
that like 3.be.pres 1+3 be that like here
Dem P Cop Pro Vintr Dem P Adv

"That is how it is, that is how we are here" (PS. Personal Narrative 051 <195.850>)

sungwa bek ataro migainek airō
sungwa bek Ataro mi- ka -i -nek airō
far.away QP Ataro 2sa- say -RPst -rel near
Adv Prtcl N Pers- Vintr -T/A1 -rel P

turonnō be agawaito amōk go'mamī mō, turonnō be tok eji?
turonnō pe Akawaio amōk ko'mamī mō turonnō pe tok eji
another like Akawaio Pl live Uncrttn another like 3pl be
N P N Num Vintr Prtcl N P Pro Vintr

<Interviewer> "Do the Akawaios in the place you called Ataro live
differently, (PS. Personal Narrative 052 <200.258.1>)"
nya gaza bra serairô?
nya kaza bra serairô
1+3 like Neg within here
Pro P Neg Adv

<Interviewer> 'Not like us here' (PS. Personal Narrative 053
<200.258.2>)

turonnô be tok mainu eji, turonnô be tok
 turonnô pe tok mainu eji turonnô pe tok
another like 3Pl language be another like 3Pl
N P Pro N Vintr N P Pro

go'mangdok eji bek mô, môrairô?
ko'mamî -dok eji bek mô môrairô
live -Inst.Nzr be QP Uncrtn over there
Vintr -Nzr Vintr Prtcl Prtcl Adv

<Interviewer> 'Is their language different? Is their culture different
over there?' (PS. Personal Narrative 054 <200.258.3>)

serô ri'kwô eji mô wagîbe ri'kwô rô
serô ri'kwô eji môrô wagî pe ri'kwô rô
this Dim be that good like Dim Emph

'Here is really a bit good' (PS. Personal Narrative 055 <214.036>)

serô ri'kwô maing ni'kwô eji wagîbe
serô ri'kwô maing ri'kwô eji wagî pe
this Dim word Dim be good like

'Here the language is really a bit good' (PS. Personal Narrative 056
<216.461>)

serô ri'kwô rô maing sauro'nô
serô ri'kwô rô maing saurogî -nnô
this Dim Emph word talk -1+2S
Pro Adv? Prtcl N Vintr -Pers

na'nêk eji wagîbe rô
nai -nek eji wagî pe rô
3.be.Pres -Rel be good like Emph
Vintr -Rel Vintr N P Prtcl

'This language that we talk here is really good' (PS. Personal
Narrative 057 <218.082>)

mô mô kuning brazil airô turonnô be tok saurogî môrô
môrô môrô kuru ning brazil airô turonnô pe tok saurogî môrô
that that Emph Emph Brazil near another like 3Pl talk A.I.?
Dem Dem Prtcl Prtcl N P N P Pro Vintr ?

'But near to Brazil they speak differently' (PS. Personal Narrative 058
<221.328>)
migi era'ma'piuya ta dok a kuning ji
migi era'ma -'pî -u -ya ta tok ya kuru ning ji
Hes see -Past -1 -Erg say 3Pl Erg Emph Emph Emph
Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Vtr Pro P Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

'era'ma'piuya' ('I saw it' kwating Akawaio) they would really say' (PS. Personal Narrative 059 <224.651>)

masa ta dok a, abîne tadok pîk
masa ta tok ya abîne ta -dok pîk
wait! say 3Pl Erg wait say -Nsr for
VImp Vtr Pro P VImp Vtr -Nsr P

'They say masa ('wait' in Pempong and Kwating Akawaio) for abîne
'wait' (PS. Personal Narrative 060 <230.000>)

masa ta dok a
masa ta tok ya
wait! say 3Pl Erg
VImp Vtr Pro P

'They say masa.' (PS. Personal Narrative 061 <232.903>)

sera'madai ta dok a shi, sendai tadok pîk
si- era'ma -dai ta tok ya ji si- ene -dai ta -dok pîk
1A- see -Past say 3Pl Erg Emph 1A- see -Past say -Nsr for
Pers- Vtr -T/A1 Vtr Pro P Prtcl Pers- V -T/A1 Vtr -Nsr P

'They say sera'madai 'I saw it' for sendai 'I saw it in Guyanese
Akawaio' (PS. Personal Narrative 062 <234.506>)

era'ma'piuya ta dok a, masa ta dok a
era'ma -'pî -u -ya ta tok ya masa ta tok ya
see -Past -1 -Erg say 3Pl Erg wait! say 3Pl Erg
Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Vtr Pro P VImp Vtr Pro P

'They say era'ma'piuya for 'I saw it' and they say masa for wait (PS. Personal Narrative 063 <239.893>)

tu'ke rô tok maimu eji brazil bo kuru
tu'ke rô tok maimu eji brazil po kuru
many Emph 3Pl language be Brazil Loc Emph
Quant Prtcl Pro N Vintr N P Prtcl

'There are several languages in Brazil in particular' (PS. Personal Narrative 064 <242.277>)

serô ning shi Gaiyana bo rî'kwó ning ji
serô ning ji Gaiyana po rî'kwó ning ji
this Emph Emph Guyana Loc Dim Emph Emph
Pro Prtcl Prtcl N P Adv? Prtcl Prtcl
Here in Guyana the language (Akawaio) goes well (meaning spoken well), like that (PS. Personal Narrative 066 <244.700>)

ewaik wagībe mang mīgī pandong rī'kwō
yes good like 3.be.Pres Hes story Dim
Prtc1? N P Cop Prtcl N Adv?

<Interviewer> 'Okay this is good, do you want to tell me a story? PS. Personal Narrative 067 <253.553.1>)

pandong rō penarokri'pī?
pandong rō penarok -rī'pī
story Emph old -Past.Psn
N Prtcl N -NTns

<Interviewer> 'Even one that use to be an old story' (PS. Personal Narrative 068 <253.553.2>)

stori dadok sa'ji se go english pe,
stori say -dok sa'ji serō ko English pe
story say -Inst.Nzr Emph this Emph English like
N Vtr -Nzr Prtcl Pro Prtcl N P

<Interviewer> 'It is called story in English' (PS. Personal Narrative 069 <253.553.3>)

stori da dok ya ibōk, e'tane aza'rōrō egamauya,
stori ta tok ya i- pōk e'tane aza'rō -rō egama -au -ya
story say 3Pl Erg 3- WRT but two -Emph tell -2 -Erg
N Vtr Pro P Pers- P Prtcl? Num -Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

<Interviewer> 'They call it story, but you can tell me two' (PS. Personal Narrative 070 <253.553.4>)

tu'ke bra rō anegamadong tri gaijarō,
tu'ke bra rō a- n- egama -dong tri gaijarō
many Neg Emph 2- O.Nzr- tell -Put three in.number
Quant Neg Prtcl Pers- Nzr- Vtr -T/A2 Num Adv

<Interviewer> 'you will tell me maybe three not plenty' (PS. Personal Narrative 071 <253.553.5>)
tu'keng rô ji a'tai,
tu'ke -ng rô ji a'tai
many -Style Emph Emph if
Quant -? Prtcl Prtcl Conj?

ee'köröbaning be rô ji a'tai
a- e'köröba -ning pe rô ji a'tai
2- make.laugh -A.Nzr like Emph Emph if
Pers- Vtr -Nzr P Prtcl Prtcl Conj?

<Interviewer> 'If there is plenty and if it is one that makes you laugh' (PS. Personal Narrative 072 <253.553.6>)

12. RA Personal Narrative

pîzerô ji serôrô gu'ning
pîze -rô ji serô -rô kubî -ning
this.Anim -Emph Emph this -Emph do -A.Nzr
Pro -Prtcl Prtcl Pro -Prtcl Vtr -Nzr

<Interviewer> 'This is the one who does this sort of thing' (RA Personal Narrative 002 <4.787>)

teknishan be ji
teknishan pe y- eji
technician like 3- be
N P Pers- V

<Interviewer> 'He is a technician.' (RA Personal Narrative 003 <6.990>)

mia'taniğiuya namaik rô
i- ma'ta -nîgil -u -ya namaik rô
3- die -Caus -1 -Erg prevent.Purp Emph
Pers- Vntr -VDer -Pers -Agr Adv Prtcl

tok nengnogî'pî ya'körö
tok n- engnogî -'pî y- a'körö
3Pl O.Nzr- send -Past 1- Instr
Pro Nzr- Vtr -T/A2 Pers- P

<Interviewer> 'They sent him with me to prevent me from spoiling the equipment' (RA Personal Narrative 004 <8.292>)

môrô wenai ji ô'rô tugaik keng ji
môrô wenai ji ô'rô tugaik geng ji
that because Emph what like doubt Emph
Dem P Prtcl WH P Prtcl Prtcl
'Okay, how do I start what you want me to say' (RA Personal Narrative 005 <11.677>)

ane ji am...
ane ji am
wait.Imp Emph um
Vintr.Imp Prtcl Prtcl

'Wait! um...' (RA Personal Narrative 006 <14.761>)

zaurogik manarê
saurogî -gô mara -rô
talk -Imper a.little.bit -Emph
Vintr -T/A Adv? -Prtc1

'let me talk a bit' (RA Personal Narrative 007 <16.564>)

ô'rô gaijarô ayears nai?
ô'rô gaijarô a- years nai
what in.number 2- years 3.be.Pres
WH Adv Pers- N Vintr

<Interviewer> 'How many years are you?' (RA Personal Narrative 012 <25.417>)

seventy-five years yeji môrô
years y- eji môrô
years 1- be A.I.? 
N Pers- V ?

'I am seventy-five years' (RA Personal Narrative 013 <27.340>)

ewaik uncle R migî
ewaik migî
yes Hes
Prtc1? Prtc1

<Interviewer> 'Yes uncle R (HES)' (RA Personal Narrative 017 <42.361>)

auzaurogî che eji, nai abai auye'sak
a- saurogî-che eji nai abai a- yebî -zak
2- talk Desid be where from 2- come -Perf
Pers- Vintr P V N P Pers- Vint -T/A2

<Interviewer> 'I want you to talk about where you came from?' (RA Personal Narrative 018 <45.245>)
aga'binidong yebi'pi nai abai, ö'rö
a- kiibi'ni -dong yebi -'pi nai abai ö'rö
2- father -Pl come -Past where from what
Pers- N -Nsfx Vint -T/A2 N P WH

gaijaró wöi augo'mangzak serö waramadang bo
gaijaró wöi a- ko'mamî -zak serö waramadang po
in.number sun 2- live -Perf S.I. Waramadong Loc
Adv N Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl N P

<Interviewer> 'Where your parents came from and how many years you have lived at Waramadong' (RA Personal Narrative 019 <48.029>)

tamboro rö sa'ne augo'mam'pi rö egamauya
tamboro rö sa'ne a- ko'mamî -'pi rö egama -au -ya
all Emph Emph 2- live -Past Emph tell -2 -Erg
Adv Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

<Interviewer> 'Everything about how you have been living' (RA Personal Narrative 020 <53.137>)

azauro'kó ji
a- saurogi -gö ji
2- talk -Imper Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A Prtcl

<Interviewer> 'You can talk now' (RA Personal Narrative 021 <56.111>)

suwarong be sa'ne ji zang eji ze go zuwarong
sungwarö -ng pe sa'ne ji sang eji serö ko sungwarö -ng
far.away -Nsr like Emph Emph mother be S.I. Emph far.away -Nsr

'Well, my mother is from far away, from far away' (RA Personal Narrative 022 <57.653>)

kamara'ta
kamara'ta
Kamarata
N

'kamarata(name of Pemong village in Venezuela)' (RA Personal Narrative 023 <62.500>)

RA Personal Narrative 024 <65.424>
yawong be kuru urö yang eji'pi,
yau -ng pe kuru urö sang eji -'pi
Loc -Nsr like Emph 18g mother be -Past
P -Nsr P Prtcl Pro N V -T/A2

möröbang ji go'ma'pi
möröbang ji ko'ma -'pi
thereafter Emph call -Past
N Prtcl Vtr -T/A2

'My mother was really from there, and then they called her from there' (RA Personal Narrative 023 <62.500>)
'Her relatives to Venezuela' (RA Personal Narrative 025 <68.128>)

môra' tai ji
môra'ta ji
at.that.time Emph
Adv? Prtcl

'At that time' (RA Personal Narrative 026 <74.998>)

urô yang
urô sang
1Sg mother
Pro N

'My mother' (RA Personal Narrative 027 <77.762>)

ewô'pi Æreguna ya'kôrô
ewô -'pi Æreguna a'kôrô
marry -Past Arekuna Instr
Vintr -T/A2 N P

'got married to an Arekuna' (RA Personal Narrative 028 <79.144>)

areguna sa'ne ji, San Rafeal tabôk tok
Areguna sa'ne ji ta -bôdi tok
Arekuna Emph Emph say -Hab 3Pl
N Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -Asp Pro

na'nek airô kuru
nai -nek airô kuru
3.be.Pres -Rel near Emph
Vintr -Rel P Prtcl

'A real Arekuna near what they called San Rafeal' (RA Personal Narrative 029 <81.437>)

tok ewô'pi ji
tok ewô -'pi ji
3Pl marry -Past Emph
Pro Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl

'They got married' (RA Personal Narrative 030 <84.502>)

San Rafeal airô
airô
near
P

'near to San Rafeal' (RA Personal Narrative 031 <86.184>)
Uró
Uró
18g
Pro

'My' (RA Personal Narrative 032 <87.146>)

giibiñi eji'pi San Rafeal airó
kiliibini eji '-'pi airó
father be -Past near
N V -T/A2 P

'father was in San Rafeal' (RA Personal Narrative 033 <87.265>)

mōra'tai ji
mōra'tai ji
at.that.time Emph
Adv? Prtcl

'At that time' (RA Personal Narrative 034 <90.410>)

Areguna be giibiñi es'pi
Areguna pe kiliibini eji '-'pi
Arekuna like father be -Past
N P N V -T/A2

'My father was Arekuna' (RA Personal Narrative 035 <92.273>)

kamaragodo be uzang es'pi
kamaragodo pe u- sang eji '-'pi
Kamarakoto like l- mother be -Past
N P Pers- N V -T/A2

'My mother was kamarakoto' (RA Personal Narrative 036 <94.416>)

RA Personal Narrative 037 <96.599>
mōrō ji eji mōrō turonnò be mōra'tai sa'ji
mōrō ji eji mōrō turonnò pe mōra'tai sa'ne ji
that Emph be A.I.? another like at.that.time Emph Emph

'This is what is different and then'

tok chi ewō'pi
tok eji ewō '-'pi
3Pl be marry -Past
Pro Vintr Vintr -T/A2

'they got married' (RA Personal Narrative 038 <100.184>)

penna' tai ji
penna a'tai ji
long.ago when Emph
Adv Conj? Prtcl

'A very long time ago' (RA Personal Narrative 039 <102.337>)
mōra'tai ji, nya bajidong ku
mōra'tai ji nya pajı -dong kuru
at.that.time Emph 1+3 elder.sister -Pl Emph
Adv? Prtc1 Pro N -Nsfx Prtc1

e'pōdī'pī wabiya
eji -bōdī -'pī wabiya
be -Hab -Past before
V -Asp -T/A2 P

'Then, first our elder sisters use to be' (RA Personal Narrative 040 <103.699>)

urō ji laspe rō tok ya yeboro'pī mōrō
urō ji laspe rō tok ya y- eboro -'pī mōrō
1Sg Emph last.one Emph 3Pl Erg 1- find -Past A.I.? Pro Prtc1 N Prtc1 Pro P Pers- Vtr -T/A2 ?

'I am the one who they got last' (RA Personal Narrative 041 <107.124>)

mōrōbang ji seyak yep'pī mōrō, urō
mōrōbang ji serak yebi -'pī mōrō urō
thereafter Emph to.here come -Past A.I.? 1Sg N Prtc1 Adv Vint -T/A2 ? Pro

giibinī yeppōdī'pī
kiliibinī yebi -bōdī -'pī
father come -Iter -Past
N Vint -Asp -T/A2

'Then, my father use to come here' (RA Personal Narrative 042 <109.177>)

pena yeppōdī'pī mōrō pawana be
pena yebi -bōdī -'pī mōrō pawana pe
long.ago come -Hab -Past A.I.? trader like
Adv Vint -Asp -T/A2 ? N P

'He use to come here as a barterer' (RA Personal Narrative 043 <112.963>)

tuwa
ta -u -ya
say -l -Erg
Vtr -Pers -Agr

'I say' (RA Personal Narrative 044 <114.986>)

aragabusa se'ma'pī pena tai sa'n
aragabusa z- e' ma -'pī pena a'tai sa'ne
gun Detr- pay -Past long.ago when Emph
N Intr- Vtr -T/A2 Adv Conj? Prtc1
'The gun was being sold long ago and the old people [did this], really, long ago' (RA Personal Narrative 045 <115.787>)

aragabusa ebek pe pero eji'pi ok
aragabusa ebek pe pero eji-'pi ok
gun price like dog be -Past game
N N P N V -T/A2 N

edoino, maiburii, sari
edoi -no maiburii zari
addicted.to -Nzr tapir red.brocket.deer
Adv -Nzr N N

'The payment for a gun was the hunting dog for tapir, savannah deer' (RA Personal Narrative 046 <120.574>)

kariaugii
kariaugii
grey.deer
N

'grey deer' (RA Personal Narrative 047 <125.972>)

kamoro kuru
kamoro kuru
3.Pl.Anim Emph
Pro Prtcl

'Especially those' (RA Personal Narrative 048 <126.733>)

a'chinging be awesh'pi
a'chi -ning pe a- eji-'pi
catch -A,Nzr like 2- be -Past
Vtr -Nzr P Pers- V -T/A2

'You are the one who catch these' (RA Personal Narrative 049 <128.215>)

mōra'tai ji se wenō biawana es'pi mōrō
mōra'tai ji serō winō i- pawana eji-'pi mōrō
at.that.time Emph this from 3- trader be -Past A.I.?
Adv? Prtcl Pro P Pers- N V -T/A2 ?

'At that time, he had a bartering friend over this side' (RA Personal Narrative 050 <129.236>)

mōra'tai biawanai es'pi mōrō
mōra'tai i- pawana -i eji-'pi mōrō
at.that.time 3- trader -Psd be -Past A.I.? 
Adv? Pers- N -Ninfl V -T/A2 ?
'Then he had a gun he had for bartering, the one which' (RA Personal Narrative 051 <132.642>)

tartıızeng

t- arı'tō -zeng
Adv- fill.up -Abs.Nzr
?- Vtr -Nzr

'is loaded' (RA Personal Narrative 052 <137.388>)

tuwajai

tuwajai
double.barrel.shotgun what like doubt 3Pl
N WH P Prtcl Pro

nezāgini

n- ezagī -nī mō ka'pong
O.Nzr- name -Pres.Nzr Uncrtn person
Nzr- Vtr -Nzr Prtcl N

rabai

rubai -i kuru [frag]
weapon -Psd Emph
N -Ninfl Prtcl Neg Prtcl

'A shot gun that take only two bullets but I don't know what they call it, an Amerindian type gun and this is not sixteen or twenty gauge gun' (RA Personal Narrative 053 <138.269>)

mōro ku irabai,
mōro ge ji
mōro kuru i- raba -i mōro ke ji
that Emph 3- weapon -Psd that Instr Emph
Dem Prtcl Pers- N -Ninfl Dem P Prtcl

pero e'robatō'pīiya
pero e'ma -bōdi -'pī -i -ya sungwa
dog pay -Hab -Past -3 -Erg far.away
N Vtr -Asp -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Adv

'This was his type of gun and with this he bought a dog from far away' (RA Personal Narrative 054 <145.820>)

iye'pī

yehōntmabōdī'pī ji
i- yebi -'pī y- ehōntma -bōdī -'pī ji
3- come -Past 3- hunt -Hab -Past Emph
Pers- Vint -T/A2 Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A2 Prtcl
'He came back and he use to hunt here, the tapir and the deer is what he use to catch' (RA Personal Narrative 055 <152.390>)

mörö gazarö tok es'pi, mörö korotau ji
mörö kaza -rō tok ejí -'pi mörö korotau ji
that like -Emph 3Pl be -Past that among Emph
Dem P -Prtcl Pro V -T/A2 Dem P Prtcl

'That is how they were. In the meantime,' (RA Personal Narrative 056 <155.665>)

serak tīyu'e'pō'peng e'tane
serak t- yebī -bōdī -zeng e'tane
to.here Adv- come -Hab -Abs.Nzr but
Adv ?- Vint -Asp -Nzr PRTCL?

aigobe es'pi mörö möratai maing edauya bra
aigo -be ejí -'pi mörö möratai maing edau -u -ya bra
small -Attr be -Past A.I.? at.that.time word hear -1 -Erg Neg

'I use to come here but I was very small and was not even speaking, therefore did not hear what was said' (RA Personal Narrative 057 <159.310>)

möratai urō gībinī ma'ta'pi
möratai urō kībinī ma'ta -'pi
at.that.time 1Sg father die -Past
Adv? Pro N Vintr -T/A2

'Then my father died' (RA Personal Narrative 058 <163.496>)

mörö
mörö
A.I.?
?

'that' (RA Personal Narrative 059 <165.238>)

diḍo ya sa'ji iwōnō'pi rō namo
idido ya sa'ne ji i- wōnō -'pī rō namo
killer Erg Emph Emph 3- kill -Past Emph Uncrtnty
N P Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vtr -T/A2 Prtcl Prtcl

'May be the kanaimō killed him' (RA Personal Narrative 060 <165.439>)

möratai ji serō kamrang
möratai ji serō kamrang
at.that.time Emph this Kamarang
Adv? Prtcl Pro N

'Then this kamarang' (RA Personal Narrative 061 <168.763>)
'Within its source I was born in what is known as San Rafeal which is really within the source of the kamrarang river' (RA Personal Narrative 062 <170.256>)

'I was born, they got me' (RA Personal Narrative 063 <176.715>)

'then within here' (RA Personal Narrative 064 <178.768>)

'kamarang' (RA Personal Narrative 065 <180.029>)

'while I am from, I have become one from Venezuela and I have become like that' (RA Personal Narrative 066 <180.251>)
e'tane Areguna, kamaragodo be
eji -dane Areguna kamaragodo pe
be -while Areguna Kamarakoto like
V -T/A2? N N P

umaimu e'tane Agawaio au ji zemo'ka'pi mörö
u- maimu eji -dane Akawaio yau ji semo'ka -'pi mörö
l- language be -while Akawaio in Emph grow.up -Past A.I.?
Pers- N V -T/A2? N P Prtcl Vintr -T/A2 ?

'So, while I have a different language such as Arekuna and kamarakoto, I have also grown as an Akawaio' (RA Personal Narrative 067 <184.076>)

serō ji seraui ji ów maimu nonggazu'ya
serō ji seraui ji ów maimu nongga -zak -u -ya
this Emph here Emph shout language leave -Perf -1 -Erg
Pro Prtcl Adv Prtcl SW N Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'I have left my language here' (RA Personal Narrative 068 <193.649>)

Agawaio be zauro'nóbök eji'pi ji
Akawaio pe saurogi -nóbök eji -'pi ji
Akawaio like talk -Prog be -Past Emph
N P Vintr -T/A3 V -T/A2 Prtcl

zemo'ka gaijarō serō wodong be ji
semo'ka gaijarō serō odong pe ji
grow.up in.number this Pres.Purp like Emph
Vintr Adv Pro N P Prtcl

'I was speaking Akawaio then while I was growing to continue until now' (RA Personal Narrative 069 <199.979>)

mörö wenai Agawaio kuru urō dauya
mörö wenai Akawaio kuru urō ta -u -ya
that because Akawaio Emph 1Sg say -1 -Erg
Dem P N Prtcl Pro Vtr -Pers -Agr

beng sa'ne tok maimu yau ji enazak,
beng sa'ne tok maimu yau ji ena -zak
Neg Emph 3Pl language in Emph become -Perf
Neg Prtcl Pro N P Prtcl Vint -T/A2

agawaio be ji enazak, usemo'ka'pi ji
Agawaio pe ji ena -zak u- z- emo'ka -'pi ji
Agawaio like Emph become -Perf 1- Detr- raise -Past Emph
N P Prtcl Vint -T/A2 Pers- Intr- Vtr -T/A2 Prtcl

'Therefore, I am not saying that I am really an Akawaio but I speak their language that has made me an Akawaio because I grew up with them' (RA Personal Narrative 070 <204.084>)
giwōi'pangsak ning ji serau ji
u- kōi'pami -zak ning ji serau ji
1- get.old -PerfEmph Emph here Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A2Prtcl Prtcl Adv Prtcl

'I have gotten old here too' (RA Personal Narrative 071 <210.313>)

mōra'rai ji serau ji go'mami serō,
mōra'rai ji serau ji ko'mami serō
at.that.time Emph here Emph live S.I.
Adv? Prtcl Adv Prtcl Vintr Prtcl

serawonggong domba be
serau -ng -gong tomba pe
here -Nzr -Pl relative like
Adv -Nzr -Nsfx N P

'Therefore, I am living here as the relative to all who live here' (RA Personal Narrative 072 <210.794>)

mōra'rai ja'ne ji serau zemo'ka gaijarō ji mōrō
mōra'rai sa'ne ji serau zemo'ka gaijarō ji mōrō
at.that.time Emph Emph here grow.up in.number Emph that

'Thereafter, as I grew here, there was' (RA Personal Narrative 073 <217.323>)

a.. elda Kaskarang beng paba Kak kuru, elda
a elda Kaskarang beng paba Kak kuru elda
ah Elder Kaskarang Neg father Cott Emph Elder
Hes N N Neg N N Prtcl N

kat tugaik tok
kat t- ka -ze tok
Cott Adv- say -Prtcpl 3Pl
N ?- Vintr -Vder Pro

nesagīnī, elda kat
n- ezagi -nī elda kat
O.Nzr- name -Pres.Nzr Elder Cott
Nzr- Vtr -Nzr N N

'not elder Kaskarang but papa Cott, the one they call elder Cott' (RA Personal Narrative 074 <220.608>)

kirō ye'pī mōrō missionary be ji,
kirō yebī -'pī mōrō pe ji
3Sg.Anim come -Past A.I.? like Emph
Pro Vint -T/A2 ? P Prtcl
am... mīgī akurimō, venezuela wino yewomī'pī serak
am mīgī akurimō venezuela wino y- ewomī 'pī serak
um Hes Akurimō Venezuela from 3- enter -Past to here
Prtcl Prtcl N N P Pers Vintr -T/A2 Adv

'He came as a missionary from Akurimō in Venezuela to here' (RA Personal Narrative 075 <226.997>)

morōbang enna'po'pī, nio'pī es'pī
morōbang enna'po -'pī i- no'pī eji -'pī
thereafter return -Past 3- wife be -Past
N Vintr -T/A2 Pers N V -T/A2

morō elda Kat, mama kat tugaik tok
morō elda Kat mama kat t- ka -ze tok
A.I.? Elder Cott Mama Cott Adv- say -Prtclpl 3Pl
? N N N N ?- Vintr -Vder Pro

ne'pō'tai go
n- eji -bōdī -dai ko
3S- be -Hab -Past Emph
Pers- V -Asp -T/A1 Prtcl

'Then he went back, he had a wife who was known as Mama Cott, that is how they use to be' (RA Personal Narrative 076 <232.145>)

morō bada'pī yak elda Kaskarang ye'pī
morō pada -'pī yak elda Kaskarang yebi -'pī
that place -Past into Elder Kaskarang come -Past
Dem N -T/A2 P N N Vint -T/A2

morō sungwa ji nya e'tane sairo
morō sungwa ji nya eji -dane sairo
that far.away Emph 1+3 be -while here
Dem Adv Prtcl Pro V -T/A2? Adv

'Then to replace him elder Kaskarang came while we were somewhere around there' (RA Personal Narrative 077 <240.316>)

abine ji skur dau ku e'tane
abine eji skur tau kuru eji -dane
wait be school within Emph be -while
Vimp V N P Prtcl V -T/A2?

'e'ne'pe ena'pī morō mora'tai
e'nek -be ena -'pī morō mora'tai
sick -Attr become -Past A.I.? at.that.time
N -Azr Vint -T/A2? Adv?

'While I was at school I got sick at that time' (RA Personal Narrative 078 <244.703>)
'really at that time' (RA Personal Narrative 079 <248.368>)

'môrawong ji'kô yena'pî mang chiya ji
môrau -ng ji'kô y- ena -'pî mang chiya ji
there -Nsr from 3- become -Past 3.be.Pres onwards Emph

'Then, from that time it has became more than that' (RA Personal Narrative 080 <251.172>)

kîrô ji odong be ji pasta amôk
kîrô ji odong pe ji pasta amôk
3SG.Anim Emph Pres.Purp like Emph Pastor Pl
Pro Prtcl N P Prtcl N Num

ji ye'nôbôk serô bona rô
ejî ye'bî -nôbôk serô pona rô
be come -Prog this unto Emph
V Vint -T/A3 Pro P Prtcl

'In order for him to be... Now there are pastors who are coming to this day and so' (RA Personal Narrative 081 <252.734>)

môrô wenai agawaio be go'mangsa'k serau yuk yau dauya
môrô wenai Akawaio pe ko'mamî -zak serau yuk yau ta -u -ya
that because Akawaio like live -Perf here forest Loc say -1 -Erg
Dem P N P Vintr -T/A2 Adv N P Vtr -Pers -Agr

mô, serau zemô'kazak
môrô serau semô'ka -zak
A.I.? here grow.up -Perf
? Adv Vintr -T/A2

'I have lived in the forest I say and I grew up here' (RA Personal Narrative 082 <259.464>)

tok ezeru yak sa'ne ji enazak
tok ezeru yak sa'ne ji ena -zak
3Pl customs into Emph Emph become -Perf
Pro N P Prtcl Prtcl Vint -T/A2

'I have embraced their custom' (RA Personal Narrative 083 <263.129>)

môrô wenai domba amôk e'pôdî'pî môrô
môrô wenai domba amôk eji -bôdî -'pî môrô
that because relative Pl be -Hab -Past A.I.?
Dem P N Num V -Asp -T/A2 ?
'That is why my relatives are far away' (RA Personal Narrative 084 <265.813>)

migī kairau anningnang be
migī kairau anō -ning -nang pe
Hes locust eat.meat -A.Nzr -Pl like
Prtcl N Vtr -Nzr -Num P

dauwa mö, kairau, grasshopper
ta -u -wa mōrō kairau
say -1 -Erg A.I.? locust
Vtr -Pers -Agr ? N

tugaik teza'sang kairau
t- ka -ze t- ezagi -zang kairau
Adv- say -Prtcl Adv- name -Pl.Nzr locust
?- Vintr -Vder ?- Vtr -Nzr N

'I have become one who eat locust, the one known as grasshopper (RA Personal Narrative 085 <268.897>)

kaiwak mōrawong chi'kō aneruba
kaiwak mōrawa -ng ji'kō aneruba
grasshopper.Sp there -Nzr from grasshopper.Sp
N Adv -Nzr P N

'kaiwak and aneruba (RA Personal Narrative 086 <275.737>)

önik keng aneruba? aneruba sak
önik keng aneruba aneruba sa'ne
who doubt grasshopper.Sp grasshopper.Sp Emph
WH Prtcl N N Prtcl

ji aneruba, önik kaza ji?
y- eji aneruba önik kaza y- eji
3- be grasshopper.Sp who like 3- be
Pers- V N WH P Pers- V

'What is the aneruba, what is it like?' (RA Personal Narrative 087 <280.064>)

um.. migī gaza ji chirimō gaza ji
um migī kaza ji chirimō kaza y- eji
um this like Emph flying.ant like 3- be
SW Pro P Prtcl N P Pers- V
serō wak tok miung eji serō
serō wak tok mung eji serō
S.I. Emph 3Pl nest be S.I.
Prctl Prctl Pro N    V    Prctl

'It looks like flying ants (chirimō), their nest is like this' (RA Personal Narrative 088 <285.171>)

kiawōk mung gaza
kiawōk mung kaza
akushy.ants nest like
N    N   P

'It is like the akushy ants nest' (RA Personal Narrative 089 <291.720>)

pizamoning ji mang serau
pizamo -ning ji mang serau
these.Anim -A.Nzr Emph 3.be.Pres here
Pro    -Nzr    Prctl Cop   Adv

na'nek angning
nai -nek anō    -ning
3.be.Pres -Rel eat.meat -A.Nzr
Vintr -Rel Vtr    -Nzr

'These here eat those that are here' (RA Personal Narrative 090 <293.323>)

kiawōk ning tok ezek, mōrō ning
kiawōk ning tok ezek mōrō ning
akushy.ants Emph 3Pl name that Emph
N     Prctl Pro N   Dem Prctl

kaiwak ning idesektong kamoro
kaiwak ning i- ezek -dong kamoro
grasshopper.Sp Emph 3- name -Pl 3.Pl.Anim
N     Prctl Pers- N    -Nsfx Pro

'Those whose name is kiawok(akushy ants), those who are also known as kaiwak' (RA Personal Narrative 091 <295.616>)

kaiwak, mōrawong ji'kō kairau,
kaiwak mōrau -ng ji'kō kairau
grasshopper.Sp there -Nzr from locust
N     Adv    -Nzr P   N

mōrawong ji'kō aneruba, mōrang ji'kō ji mīgī
mōrau -ng ji'kō aneruba mōrau -ng ji'kō ji mīgī
there -Nzr from grasshopper.Sp there -Nzr from Emph Hes
Adv    -Nzr P   N     Adv    -Nzr P    Prctl Prctl

'kaiwak, then locust kairau, then aneruba (another type of locust), then (HES)' (RA Personal Narrative 092 <300.053>)
'Those are the only ones that are eaten, they use to eat them' (RA Personal Narrative 093 <307.964>)

'mörö gaza ji serau ji mörö
mörö kaza ji serau y- eji mörö
that like Emph here 3- be A.I.?
Dem P Prtcl Adv Pers- V ?

'That is how it is here' (RA Personal Narrative 094 <311.219>)

'serawonggong ya ji tok ane
serau -ng -gong ya ji tok ane
here -Nzr -Pl Erg Emph 3Pl wait.Imp
Adv -Nzr -Nsfx P Prtcl Pro Vintr.Imp

'Enepiwa ganang ji
enepi -u -wa kanang ji
see -Past -l -Erg again Emph
V -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Adv? Prtcl

'I saw the ones here again eating them' (RA Personal Narrative 095 <313.362>)

'Kiawök, tok dö ewarbō nau
kiawök tok tō ewarbō nau
akushy.ants 3Pl go night between
N Pro Vintr N P

'The akushy ants fly out during the night' (RA Personal Narrative 096 <316.427>)

'sungwaronggong dō mörö nine, ten
sungwarō -ng -gong tō mörō
far.away -Nzr -Pl.Abs go A.I.?
Adv -Nzr -Nsfx Vintr ?

'Ya'tai tok dō wiinali, tumong
a'tai tok tō wiinali tumong
when 3Pl go during.the.day rainy.season
Conj? Pro Vintr Adv? N

'Ya'tai ta mö serō ji tumong a'tai
a'tai ta mörō zerō ji tumong a'tai
when say A.I. this Emph rainy.season when
Conj? Vtr ? Pro Prtcl N Conj?
e'nô, june month ya'tai

'Those akushy ants over there would fly at nine, ten in the day, during the rainy season, we are now in the rainy season, it is June month' (RA Personal Narrative 097 <317.879>)

sewau tok dô môrô five akrak
serau tok tô môrô akrak
here 3Pl go A.I.? o'clock
Adv Pro Vintr N

serauwonggong kiawôk
serau -wong -gong kiawôk
here -Nzr/Rel? -Pl akushy.ants
Adv -nzr -Nsfx N

'sHere they fly at five a clock, the akushy ants here' (RA Personal Narrative 098 <325.089>)

chirimô dô ko'wambe
chirimô tô ko'mamibe
flying.ant go evening
N Vintr Adv

'The flying ants fly in the afternoon' (RA Personal Narrative 099 <328.193>)

môrôbanggong ji anningnang
môrôbang -gong ji anô -ning -nang
thereafter -Pl.Abs Emph eat.meat -A.Nzr -Pl
N -Nsfx Prtcl Vtr -Nzr Num

be serauwonggong nôma eji tiwa mô
pe serau -wong -gong rôma eji ta -u -wa môrô
like here -Nzr/Rel? -Pl also be say -1 -Erg A.I.?
P Adv -nzr -Nsfx ? V Vtr -Pers Agr ?

'It is these that the people eat, that is what I am saying' (RA Personal Narrative 100 <330.246>)

mhôm, e'tane tok a'kôrô enda'naka'sak
mhôm e'tane tok a'kôrô enda'na -gabî -zak
mhun but 3Pl Instr eat -Cmpltv -Perf
Prtcl PRTCL? Pro P Vintr -Asp -T/A2

e'tane möbe kuru bra rô jî zerô
e'tane môrô -be kuru bra rô ejî zerô
however that -Attr Emph Neg Emph be S.I.
PRTCL? Dem -Azr Prtcl Neg Prtcl V Prtcl

'But I have not really eaten with them' (RA Personal Narrative 102 <333.461>)
I have been eating them' (RA Personal Narrative 103 <337.496>)

'However, maybe Akawaios are known to deteriorate' (RA Personal Narrative 104 <338.408>)

'They eat the waro'ma frog' (RA Personal Narrative 105 <343.275>)

'The waro'ma? (RA Personal Narrative 106 <344.377>)

'Those waro'ma frogs that I have seen while I was travelling, and those that say wek..wek..wek..kek' (RA Personal Narrative 107 <346.560>)

'Those are the ones that are really really small' (RA Personal Narrative 108 <352.840>)
Those are called kora'mi, yes hee' (RA Personal Narrative 109 <354.982>)

The people from Kako (kagorgoks) eat those and maybe they do this as an Akawaio(wai'ka)' (RA Personal Narrative 110 <359.348>)

But they are named after the river as I understand it, after the river' (RA Personal Narrative 111 <362.052>)

The river kamarang, kamrani they say' (RA Personal Narrative 112 <366.258>)

What is the meaning of what is kamrani? (RA Personal Narrative 113 <371.225>)
'It is referring to kamrang, it is the name of this kamrang, kamrani river' (RA Personal Narrative 114 <374.389>)

'They say kamrani and people from here as kamرانirigok' (RA Personal Narrative 115 <379.717>)

'What have they name it like that?' (RA Personal Narrative 116 <382.421>)

'This river is called Kamrang' (RA Personal Narrative 117 <385.144>)

'The old men used to call it kamrang' (RA Personal Narrative 118 <389.572>)

'They say kako again, therefore tribe from kago(kagorgok)' (RA Personal Narrative 119 <392.675>)
'tribe from kago (kargorgok)' (RA Personal Narrative 120 <395.361>)

wah... mazuring, mazurunigok ta dok a moro, ohh.. um
ah mazuruni mazuruni -gok ta tok ya moro oh um
ah Mazuruni Mazuruni -tribe say 3Pl Erg A.I.? uh um
Interj N N -N Vtr Pro P ? Hes SW

'They also say Mazaruni, mazurunigok(tribe from Mazaruni)' (RA Personal Narrative 121 <396.741>)

moran ji'kok, ku'kui migi
morau -ng ji'koko -k ku'kui migi
there -Nzr from -Style Ku'kui Hes
Adv -Nzr P -? N Prtcl

mazuring branch pe te'seng ku'kui
mazuruni pe t- ejii -zeng ku'kui
Mazuruni like Adv- be -Abs.Nzr Ku'kui
N P ?- V -Nzr N

'Thereafter, Kukui one of the branches of the Mazaruni river' (RA Personal Narrative 122 <401.329>)

kuguigok ta dok a moro bok, tuna bok kuru um.. ing!
k'kui -gok ta tok ya moro pok tuna pok kuru um ing
Ku'kui -tribe say 3Pl Erg that from water from Emph um mmm
N -N Vtr Pro P Dem P N P Prtcl SW ?

'They say that is kukuigok(tribe from Kukui), because of the river' (RA Personal Narrative 123 <406.495>)

moro kaza kuru tok ejii moro moro na'nek
moro kaza kuru tok ejii moro moro nai -nek
that like Emph 3Pl be A.I.? that 3.be.Pres -Rel
Dem P Prtcl Pro V ? Dem Vintr -Rel

'That is how they really are, like that' (RA Personal Narrative 124 <409.882>)

moro wenai ji agawaio ta na'nek
moro wenai ji Akawaio ta nai -nek
that because Emph Akawaio say 3.be.Pres -Rel
Dem P Prtcl N Vtr Vintr -Rel

ji ejii moro ka'pong be ji tok a
ji y- ejii moro ka'pong pe ji tok ya
Emph 3- be that person like Emph 3Pl Erg
Prtcl Pers- Vintr Dem N P Prtcl Pro P
That is why the Akawaios are named in that way in the Amerindian way and they also called them kamranigok as the alternative way to call them' (RA Personal Narrative 125 <414.146>)

'They call them tribe from Kukui(kukuigok)because the river is kukui I say' (RA Personal Narrative 126 <424.082>)

'They say mazaruni tribe' (RA Personal Narrative 127 <428.487>)

'That is why they do not have a good language because it is all mixed up' (RA Personal Narrative 128 <429.650>)
piže maimu ji mörö gaza rō, migī wagībe kru bra
piže maimu ji mörō kaza rō migī wagī be kuru bra
this.Anim language Emph that like Emph Hes good like Emph Neg
Pro N Prtcl Dem P Prtcl Prtcl N P Prtcl Neg

'This one's language is like that and it is not the good kind' (RA Personal Narrative 129 <435.537>)

ewaik ta dok a ewaik
ewaik ta tok ya ewaik
yes say 3Pl Erg yes
Prtcl? Vtr Pro P Prtcl?

'yes, they say, yes' (RA Personal Narrative 130 <440.646>)

maironggong barō eji ya'tai
mairō -ng -gong parō y- eji a'tai
over.there -Nsr -Pl.Abs more 3- be if
Adv -Nsr -Nsfx Compar Pers- Vintr Conj?

'If there are those from over there' (RA Personal Narrative 131 <443.169>)

yago're da tok a, um... yago're
yago're ta tok ya um yago're
brother.in.law say 3Pl Erg um brother.in.law
N Vtr Pro P SW N

'They will say yago're(address for brother-in-law)' (RA Personal Narrative 132 <445.152>)

yago da tok a rō kamoro
yagoro ta tok ya rō kamoro
brother.in.law say 3Pl Erg Emph 3.Pl.Anim
N Vtr Pro P Prtcl Pro

maimu Agawaio amōk sa'ji maimu
maimu Akawaio amōk sa'ne ji maimu
language Akawaio Pl Emph Emph language
N N Num Prtcl Prtcl N

'Or they will say 'yago' which is the word Akawaios use' (RA Personal Narrative 133 <448.637>)

e'tane ji se winnō ji parimō boang
e'tane ji serō winō ji parimō po -ang
but Emph this from Emph Paruima Loc -Nsr
PRTCL? Prtcl Pro P Prtcl N P -Nsr

ya ji ye'se da mörō um.. um
ya ji yebi -ze ta mörō um um
Erg Emph come -Prtcpl say A.I.? um um
P Prtcl Vint -Vder Vtr ? SW SW

'But, those from this side, from Paruima would say ye'se' (RA Personal Narrative 134 <453.163>)
ye'se da tok a
yebi -ze ta tok ya
come -Prtcpl say 3Pl Erg
Vint -Vder Vtr Pro P

'They say ye'se' (RA Personal Narrative 135 <458.872>)

möröwenai maing kuru wagí bra rò ji
mörö wenai maing kuru wagí bra rò ji
that because word Emph good Neg Emph Emph
Dem N Prtcl N Neg Prtcl Prtcl

damörö mörörö ji tugaik na'kō
tamö -rò mörö -rò ji tugaik na'kō
you.know -Emph that -Emph Emph like maybe
Prtcl -Prtcl Dem -Prtcl Prtcl P Adv

tok ya auro'kazak nai e'tane
tok ya auro'ka -zak nai e'tane
3Pl Erg tell -Perf 3.be.Pres but
Pro P Vtr -T/A2 Vintr PRTCL?

'This is why there is really no good language, maybe they have
also told you so, but' (RA Personal Narrative 136 <460.294>)

mörö ning wiik e'tane egamauya mörö mörö yago're
mörö ning wiik e'tane egama -u -ya mörö mörö yago're
that Emph while however tell -1 -Erg A.I.? that brother.in.law

'However, while this is so, I am telling you about yago're' (RA
Personal Narrative 137 <466.623>)

mörö yau rò yago're da dok a mörö
mörö yau rò yago're ta tok ya mörö
that Loc Emph brother.in.law say 3Pl Erg Fut
Dem P Prtcl N Vtr Pro P Prtcl?

turonggong ya rò mörau rò yago're
turonnö -gong ya rò mörau rò yago're
another -Pl Erg Emph there Emph brother.in.law
N -Nsfx P Prtcl Adv Prtcl N

ta dok ya rò tudombagong ezagi tok a
ta tok ya rò t- tomba -gong ezagi tok ya
say 3Pl Erg Emph 3.Rfl- relative -Pl.Psr name 3Pl Erg
Vtr Pro P Prtcl Pers- N -Nsfx Vtr Pro P

'Within there some others would say yago're, this is how they
would call their relative' (RA Personal Narrative 138 <470.168>)

möröwenai möbe ku Agawaio be bra
mörö wenai mörö -be kuru Akawaio pe bra
that because that -Attr Emph Akawaio like Neg
Dem P Dem -Azr Prtcl N P Neg
rō go'mangzak serau tauya mōrō
rō ko'māmī -zak serau ta -u -ya mōrō
Emph live -Perf here say -1 -Erg A.I.? Prtcl Vintr -T/A2 Adv Vtr -Pers -Agr ?
tok maimu au rō to'ka'nībing...
tok maimu yau rō to'ka'nībi -ng
3Pl language in Emph understand -Style Pro N P Prtcl Vtr -?

'That is why I am saying that I have been living not really as an Akawaio, I live with their language while understanding' (RA Personal Narrative 139 <477.479>)

dio'ka'nīgīa sak manarō
i- to'kānīgī -u -ya sa'ne mara -rō

'I understand it very little' (RA Personal Narrative 140 <483.487>)

mōrō gaza go'mangsak mang
mōrō kaza ko'māmī -zak mang
that like live -Perf 3.be.Pres Dem P Vintr -T/A2 Cop

'That is how I have lived' (RA Personal Narrative 141 <484.990>)

mōrō gaza ji mung amōk ejī serau munggāmōk
mōrō kaza ji mung amōk ejī serau munggō amōk
that like Emph nest Pl be here children Pl
Dem P Prtcl N Num V Adv Npsd Num

mu'tazak chi
mu'ta -zak ji
reproduce -Perf Emph Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl

'That is how my children have been, they have gotten plenty children' (RA Personal Narrative 142 <487.854>)

Agawaio be ri'kwō ji tok saurogī mōrō
Agawaio pe ri'kwō ji tok saurogī mōrō
Agawaio like Dim Emph 3Pl talk A.I.? N P Adv? Prtcl Pro Vintr ?

mararō sa'ji tok saurogī
mararō sa'ne ji tok saurogī
little.bit Emph Emph 3Pl talk
N Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pro Vintr

'They speak the Akawaio a little, they speak it very little' (RA Personal Narrative 143 <490.217>)
They understand poorly' (RA Personal Narrative 144 <493.021>)

'How many children do you have? (RA Personal Narrative 145 <494.463>)

'I am not sure, how many they are' (RA Personal Narrative 146 <496.086>)

'Cliff, it is really Zorah first so it is Zorah, Cliff, one of them is dead, let’s deal with those that are not dead' (RA Personal Narrative 147 <497.969>)

'Cliff, Zorah, Janet, Cynthia, Cebel; there is another who died again' (RA Personal Narrative 148 <504.919>)
urō mīre
urō mīre
1Sg child
Pro N

'My child' (RA Personal Narrative 149 <514.954>)

RA Personal Narrative 150 <516.115>
wan, tu, tri, for, fai gaijarō tok eji mō, munggamōk
wan tu tri for fai gaijarō tok eji mōrō munggō amōk
one two three four five in.number 3Pl be A.I.? children Pl
Num Num Num Num Num Adv Pro V ? Npsd Num

'My children number up to one, two, three, four and five in number'

mōrō gaza tok eji mōrō mōrau
mōrō kaza tok eji mōrō mōrau
that like 3Pl be A.I.? there
Dem P Pro V ? Adv

'This is how they are there' (RA Personal Narrative 151 <525.829>)

mōrō wenai tok chi wu'tōzak,
that because 3Pl Emph 1- come.down -Perf
mōrō wenai tok ji w- u'tō -zak
Dem P Pro Prtcl Prs- Vintr -T/A2

Sintia eji mōrō Bartiga bo
Sintia eji mōrō Bartiga po
Cynthia be A.I.? Bartica Loc
N V ? N P

'This is why they are everywhere, Cynthia is in Bartica' (RA Personal Narrative 152 <527.832>)

mm... a.. a.. veneswela bo mīgī ji mōrō Klef
mm a a veneswela po mīgī ji mōrō Klef
mm ah ah Venezuela Loc Hes Emph that Cliff
SW Hes Hes N P Prtcl Prtcl Dem N

'Cliff is in Venezuela' (RA Personal Narrative 153 <532.919>)

i'au biaruji ji
i- 'au i- paruji ji
3- in.possession 3- younger.sister Emph
Pers- P Pers- N Prtcl

mōrō Sebel mōrau biyau tok dōsak egebe
mōrō Sebel mōrau pīyau tok tō -zak ege -be
that Cebel there near.to 3Pl go -Perf big -Attr
Dem N Adv P Pro Vintr -T/A2 N -Azr

'With him is his sister Cebel, they have gone there in great numbers' (RA Personal Narrative 154 <538.627>)
That is where I go to and fro in order to visit them' (RA Personal Narrative 155 <542.733>)

im... mörö wenai ku udöhödëi mörö
im mörö wenai Kuru u-tô -bödî mörö
um that because Emph î-go -Iter A.I.? 
Hes Dem P Prtcl Pers- Vintr -Asp ?

That is really why I keep going up and down' (RA Personal Narrative 156 <546.078>)

iwangbe tok eji tok enubaning bra tugaik
iwang -be tok eji tok enuba -ning bra tugaik
hunger -Attr 3Pl be 3Pl teach -A.Nzr Neg like
N -Azr Pro V Pro Vtr -Nzr Neg P

serö yau maing eji mörö maing
serö yau maing eji mörö maing
this Loc word be that word
Pro P N V Dem N

There is word here that they are hungry and there is no one to teach them' (RA Personal Narrative 157 <547.249>)

e'tane ji pena möz bök ku
e'tane ji pena mörö pök kuru
but Emph long.ago that about Emph
PRTCL? Prtcl Adv Dem P Prtcl

zenuba'pi, möz bök mödöng bök
senuba -'pi mörö pök mörö -döng pök
learn -Past A.I.? about that -Pl about
Vintr -T/A2 ? P Dem -Nsfx P

But I learnt about those things a long time ago (RA Personal Narrative 158 <545.410>)

pinöt padamaning be, oniyang padamaning be
pinöt padama -ning pe oniyang padama -ning pe
peanut cultivate -A.Nzr like onion cultivate -A.Nzr like
N Vtr -Nzr P N Vtr -Nzr P

How to farm peanuts and onions' (RA Personal Narrative 159 <560.068>)

tituik pra rö migi ağiibi
i'tu -ze bra rö migi a- kiibi
Adv- know -Prtcpl Neg Emph Hes 2- father
?- Vtr -Vder Neg Prtcl Prtcl Pers- N
'I learnt all kinds of things from your father from asking him questions' (RA Personal Narrative 160 <562.422>)

'Really before that, a long time back I learned how to plant peanuts from Munroe (a govt. agricultural officer)' (RA Personal Narrative 161 <566.898>)

'Also cabbage' (RA Personal Narrative 162 <570.313>)

'Because I have established farms there, it is not very hard to plant cassava' (RA Personal Narrative 163 <571.484>)
e'pőmĩ  biîra  rô
e'- põmĩ ibîra  rô
Detr- plant with.no.doubt Emph
Intr- Vtr  Adv  Prtcl

'I plant banana suckers, sugar cane or I plant anything else easily 'not knowing' = 'anything' (RA Personal Narrative 164 <578.585>)

maina rô  a'tôuya  tu e'ka e'tok
maina rô  a'tô -u -ya tu e'ka eji -dok airô rô
farm Emph cut -1 -Erg two acres be -Nzr airô rô
N  Prtcl Vtr  -Pers  -Agr Num N  V  -Nzr near Emph
P  Prtcl

'Or I cut down a big field for a farm, about two acres' (RA Personal Narrative 165 <581.879>)

serau rî'kwôrô  nai  aigorkwô  wan
serau rî'kwô -rô  nai  aigo rî'kwô wan
here Dim  -Emph  3.be.Pres small Dim one

e'ka mang  serau kwô  aigo
e'ka mang  serau rî'kwô aigo
acres 3.be.Pres here Dim small
N  Cop  Adv  Adv?  N

'Here, there is only a small one, it is one acre' (RA Personal Narrative 166 <585.555>)

sungwa  rî'kwô Benesuela bo double be  gaza tok
sungwa rî'kwô Veneswela po  pe  kaza tok
far.away Dim  Venezuela Loc  like like 3Pl
Adv  Adv?  N  P  P  P  Pro

ezadîbôk  mang  egebe  ku  za'ne
ezagi -bôk mang  ege -be kuru sa'ne
name  -Prog 3.be.Pres big  -Attr Emph Emph
Vtr  -T/A2 Cop  N  -Azr  Prtcl  Prtcl

'Over there far away in Venezuela, they tend to call an acre in a bigger way' (RA Personal Narrative 167 <588.849>)

môrîbông  yau tok eji iwang  be  wenai  döbôdî
môrîbông  yau tok eji iwang  pe  wenai  tô  -bôdî
thereafter Loc 3Pl be hunger like because go  -Iter
N  P  Pro V  N  P  P  Vintr  -Asp

'So, because they are hungry I keep going to Venezuela several times' (RA Personal Narrative 168 <593.426>)

oh..  oh  tok e'kiyari arauya?
oh oh tok e'kiyari arô  -au  -ya
okay okay 3Pl food carry -2  -Erg
Prtcl?  Prtcl?  Pro N  Vtr  -Pers  -Agr

'Oh, you take them food? (RA Personal Narrative 169 <595.123>)
'No, I really go to teach them about planting their food' (RA Personal Narrative 170 <598.192>)

e gaza ta'tözen gō, se gaza e'pōnnōdok,
serō kaza ta'tō -zeng mō serō kaza e'- pōmī -nō -dok
this like pungent -Abs.Nzr farm this like Detr- plant -Inf -Nzr
Pro P N -Nzr N Pro P Intr- Vtr -Vinfl -Nzr

'I tell them this is how to cut a field and this is how you plant' (RA Personal Narrative 171 <601.647>)

tennai kai yek ka'krangbe
t- enna -ze egi yek ka'krang -be
Adv- request -Prtcpl cassava plant stranger -Attr
?- Vtr -Vder N N N -Azr

e'nō ya'tai egi yek enna, diek sak diek
eji -nō a'tai egi yek enna i- ek sa'ne i- ek
be -Inf when cassava plant request 3- plant Emph 3- plant
V -Vinfl Conj? N N Vtr Pers- N Prtcpl Pers- N

'Cassava is one you must ask for when you are a stranger, you ask for it especially the sticks, the cassava sticks' (RA Personal Narrative 173 <604.111>)

mōrōbang bōmī
mōrōbang pōmī
thereafter plant
N Vtr

'Then you plant these' (RA Personal Narrative 173 <610.225>)

tenggi'nī'seng beng dauya
t- enggi'nīgī -zeng beng ta -u -ya
Adv- extinguish -Abs.Nzr Neg say -1 -Erg
?- Vtr -Nzr Neg Vtr -Pers -Agr

'Those that don't die easily, I say' (RA Personal Narrative 174 <614.004>)

a ...am meguru yek ō'ró yek rō a'naik
a am meguru yek ō'ró yek rō a'naik
ah um banana plant what plant Emph corn
Hes Prtcpl N N WH N Prtcpl N
'Am...you can get some banana suckers or corn plants' (RA Personal Narrative 174 <607.996>)

töwörörö migí turonnō a'tauya, biõmauya
töwörörö migí turonnō a'ta -u -ya i- põmí -au -ya
always Hes another grow -1 -Erg 3- plant -2 -Erg

'On a regular basis you cut down a field, then plant it' (RA Personal Narrative 175 <616.309>)

mōra'tai ji enda'nang
mōra'tai ji enda'na -nnō
at.that.time Emph eat -1+2S
Adv? Prtcl Vintr -Pers

'Then we eat' (RA Personal Narrative 176 <618.531>)

wagĩ be sa'ne enda'na -nnō wagĩ be
good like Emph eat -1+2S good like
N P Prtcl Vintr -Pers N P

'We eat very well, we eat well.' (RA Personal Narrative 177 <619.954>)

egi badamasak, ka'nari
egi padama -zak ka'nari
cassava cultivate -Perf sweet.cassava
N Vtr -T/A2 N

badamasak, edo badamasak kuiji tamborong
padama -zak edo padama -zak kuru ji tamborong
cultivate -Perf tuber cultivate -Perf Emph Emph all
Vtr -T/A2 N Vtr -T/A2 Prtcl Prtcl N

'There is the bitter cassava field, the sweet cassava field, the eddoe field, all of these' (RA Personal Narrative 178 <621.896>)

mörö ji eza'pe tok chi ji
mörö ji ezak -be tok eji ji
that Emph owner -Attr 3Pl be Emph
Dem Prtcl N -Azr Pro V Prtcl

'That is what they have now' (RA Personal Narrative 179 <625.703>)

ka'pong yamōk migī ya iwang be kamo
ka'pong amōk migī ya iwang be kamoro
person Pl Hes Erg hunger like 3.Pl.Anim
N Num Prtcl P N P Pro
mang peng, iwang ewe'to'pe
mang beng iwang ewegi -do'pe
3.be.Pres Neg hunger feed -Deontic
Cop Neg N Vtr -Vinfl

'People must not say that they are hungry rather they should feed the hungry' (RA Personal Narrative 180 <627.965>)

moröwenai serau pizamo enubabök go'mangzak morö
morö wenai serau pizamo enuba -bök ko'mami -zak morö
that because here these.Anim teach -Prog live -Perf A.I.?
Dem P Adv Pro Vtr -T/A2 Vintr -T/A2 ?

'That is why I have spent so much time [kept] teaching these here' (RA Personal Narrative 181 <632.754>)

e'tane ji iwang be tok ena'pi
e'tane ji iwang pe tok ena -'pi
however Emph hunger like 3Pl become -Past
PRTC1? Prtcl N P Pro Vint -T/A2

mang serö be bada'pi au gaza ta dok a mö
mang serö pe pada -ri'pi yau kaza ta tok ya morö
3.be.Pres this like place -Past.Psn in like say 3Pl Erg A.I.?
Cop Pro P N -NTns P P Vtr Pro P ?

'However, they had recently starved in my absence they say' (RA Personal Narrative 182 <635.717>)

iwang be, mö a'tö tok a bra
iwang pe mö a'tö tok ya bra
hunger like farm cut 3Pl Erg Neg
N P N Vtr Pro P Neg

'They were hungry, they were not cutting down any field for farms' (A Personal Narrative 183 <638.252>)

tu'ke zenubazak tuna'pö be yeji mö
tu'ke senuba -zak tuna'pö pe y- eji mö
many learn -Perf swampy like 3- be farm
Quant Vintr -T/A2 N P Pers- V N

ruzemi'seng mö tuna wiyebī ya'tai
ru- semigī -zeng mö tuna w- yebī a'tai
Adv- submerge -Abs.Nzr farm water Sa- come when
?- Vintr -Nzr N N Vcl- Vint Conj?

'I have learnt many things, if the farm is near the river, it can flood easily' (RA Personal Narrative 184 <640.084>)

tuna'pö be ji yau semigī
tuna'pö pe y- eji yau i- semigī
swampy like 3- be when 3- submerge
N P Pers- V P Pers- Vintr

'When it is near the river, it will flood' (RA Personal Narrative 185 <645.863>)
'But, if it far away on the mountains, it will never flood' (RA Personal Narrative 186 <647.875>)

mm...

mm

mm

SW

'mm (RA Personal Narrative 187 <651.291>)

e'tane mórau rögeng mang mō ga'ta

However there only 3.be.Pres farm edge

'However, there is one thing that will bother a farm in the forest' (RA Personal Narrative 188 <652.221>)

ok amök tauya mō

The animals, I say' (RA Personal Narrative 189 <657.560>)

pagira, pöinggō, urana, aku kamorō

The wild hog, the rodent urana, the aguti, these are the ones that eat the cassava' (RA Personal Narrative 190 <658.710>)
They eat those that are planted far away in the backdam' (RA Personal Narrative 191 <667.094>)

'That is why, some of the roots are blocked or covered in the ground' (RA Personal Narrative 192 <670.727>)

'Here, they have the rodent urana, he eat the cassava' (RA Personal Narrative 193 <673.073>)

'urana eats it, the one they call paruwena, a big oone, he eats it' (RA Personal Narrative 194 <676.475>)
Why has one learn their lesson' (RA Personal Narrative 195 <682.206>)

This is why I always have two farms' (RA Personal Narrative 196 <683.524>)

That is why I am not starving' RA Personal Narrative 197 <687.754>

'So, If this one is finished, I will go across to the other one, it is like that' (RA Personal Narrative 198 <689.032>)

'That is why I never experience hunger' (RA Personal Narrative 199 <692.341>)

Because I plant things like pepper and pumpkin' (RA Personal Narrative 200 <695.862>)
go'mando'pe ji
ko'mami -do'pe ji
live -Purp Emph
Vintr -Vinfl Prtcl

'I plant watermelons so that I can live on that' (RA Personal Narrative 201 <698.410>)

RA Personal Narrative 202 <700.890>
mörö gaza te'seng urö mígí sa'ne tóbödí
mörö kaza t- eji -zeng urö mígí sa'ne tó -bõdí
that like Adv- be -Abs.Nzr 1Sg Hes Emph go -Iter
Dem P ?- V -Nzr Pro Prtcl Prtcl Vintr -Asp

'I am like that but I keep going up and down'

píze warai rónamo ji esa'pe Sintia mang
píze warai rónamo ji ezak -be Sintia mang
this.Anim like uncrtn Emph owner -Attr Cynthia 3.be.Pres
Pro P Prtcl Prtcl N -Azr N Cop

'Cynthia has one just like this one' (RA Personal Narrative 203 <705.139>)

pízamo koroba bong warawok
pízamo koroba po -ng warawok
these.Anim Koroba Loc -Nzr boy
Pro N P -Nzr N

nongga'píiya temari'ma diibo ró
nongga -'pí -i -ya t- emari'ma tibo ró
leave -Past -3 -Erg 3.Rfl- get.married after Emph
Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Pers- Vintr Pos Prtcl

'She left this man from Koroba after marrying him' (RA Personal Narrative 204 <709.483>)

haing! seröbe ji mígí mórö airanda
haing serö -be ji mígí mórö airanda
drama this -Attr Emph Hes that islander
SW Pro -Azr Prtcl Prtcl Dem N

diam'pì echi daböök tok mang go
i- tamí'pì eji ta -bök tok mang ko
3- husband be say -Prog 3Pl 3.be.Pres Emph
Pers N V Vtr -T/A2 Pro Cop Prtcl

'aing! Presently, they say that her husband is an islander (from the islands) (A Personal Narrative 205 <715.634>)

tu gaijarö ró nam tumunggô
tu gaijarö ró namo t- munngô
two in.number Emph Uncrnty 3.Rfl- children
Num Adv Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Npsd
'She had sent pictures of two of her children' (RA Personal Narrative 206 <720.679>)

\[
\text{migî ji ewaik migî pi'chai mire amôk}
\]
\[
\text{Hes Emph yes Hes picture -3 child Pl}
\]
\[
\text{Prtc1 Prtc1 Prtc1? Prtc1 N -Pers N Num}
\]

'Yes it was the pictures of the children' (RA Personal Narrative 207 <723.585>)

\[
\text{tri gaijarô imunngô amôk}
\]
\[
\text{three in.number nest -Imper Pl}
\]
\[
\text{N Adv N -T/A Num}
\]

'I have heard that she has three children' (RA Personal Narrative 208 <727.729>)

\[
\text{Bartiga bo ji mörô}
\]
\[
\text{Bartiga Loc 3- be A.I.?}
\]
\[
\text{N P Pers- V ?}
\]

'She is at Bartica' (RA Personal Narrative 209 <729.854>)

\[
\text{anengbai ganang ejî}
\]
\[
\text{30.Desid- see -Desid again be}
\]
\[
\text{Pers- V -Vdrrv Adv? V}
\]

'I want to see her again' (RA Personal Narrative 210 <731.204>)

\[
\text{nai gaza ji gio'manîgiîya tugaik}
\]
\[
\text{what like Emph i- ko'manîgî -i -ya tugaik}
\]
\[
\text{N P Prtc1 Pers- Vtr -Pers -Agr P}
\]

'anengbai ejî'
\[
\text{30.Desid- see -Desid be}
\]
\[
\text{Pers- V -Vdrrv V}
\]

'I would like to see how he is living with her' (RA Personal Narrative 211 <733.719>)
pizerö ba ji go'maniği
pi ze -rő pai ji ko'maniği
this.Anim -Emph elder.sister keep
Pro -Prtcl N Vtr

anengbai eji
an- ene -bai eji
30.Desid- see -Desid be
Pers- V -Vdrv V

'I would like to see how she is being treated' (RA Personal Narrative 212 <736.151>)

diwik anengbai eji,
i- iwik an- ene -bai eji
3- house 30.Desid- see -Desid be
Pers- N Pers- V -Vdrv V

mainari yak, gor bök
maina -ri yak gor pök
farm -Pad into gold occupied.with
N -Ninfl P N P

te'seng be ji a'tai gor bök gadő
t- eji -zeng pe y- eji a'tai gor pök gadő
Adv- be -Abs.Nzr like 3- be if gold occupied.with Uncrttn
?- V -Nzr P Pers- V Conj? N P Prtcl

'I want to see her house, go into her farm and if she is mining gold, maybe I want to go there to' (RA Personal Narrative 213 <738.666>)

ö'rörö e'maiya tugai k
ö'rő -rő e'ma -i -ya tugai k
what -Emph pay -3 -Erg like
WH -Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr P

anembai rõ ganang eji mörö gaza kuru
an- ene -bai rõ kanang y- eji mörö kaza kuru
30.Desid- see -Desid Emph again 3- be that like Emph

'I would want to see what she is buying, this is how it is again' (RA Personal Narrative 214 <742.600>)

mörö airō bek jiang eji?
mörö airō bek i- sang eji
that near QP 3- mother be
Dem P Prtcl Pers- N V

'Is her mother there?' RA Personal Narrative 215 <744.102>
'Because she does not come to see me' (RA Personal Narrative 216 <745.416>)

yebi braiji
yebi bra y- eji
come Neg 3- be
Vint Neg Pers- V

'She doesn't come' (RA Personal Narrative 217 <747.727>)

udō ze Agast a' tai dō ze
u- tō serō Agast a' tai tō serō
1- go this August when go S.I.
Pers- Vintr Pro N Conj? Vintr Prtcl

dabök kaji be rō gio'mamī Sintia
ta -bök kaji pe rō i- ko'mamī Sintia
say -Prog lie like Emph 3- live Cynthia
Vtr -T/A2 N P Prtcl Pers- Vintr N

mōrau gio'mamī mōrō
mōrau 1- ko'mamī mōrō
there 3- live A.I.? 
Adv Pers- Vintr ?

'She keep saying she will be coming in August and this is a lie. That is Cynthia and that how she is living' (RA Personal Narrative 218 <748.881>)

ő'rō gaijarō ye'ka'sak mōrairō go'mangnōbōk?
ő'rō gaijarō yebi -gabī -zak mōrairō ko'mamī -nōbōk
what in.number come -Cmpltv -Perf over.there live -Prog
WH Adv Vint -Asp -T/A2 Adv Vintr -T/A3

'How long has she been living over there' (RA Personal Narrative 219 <753.055>)

ő'rō be ji?
ő'rō pe y- eji
what like 3- be
WH P Pers- V

'What is that?' (RA Personal Narrative 220 <755.811>)

ő'rō gaijarō wōi ye'ka'sak mōrairō?
ő'rō gaijarō wōi yebi -gabī -zak mōrairō
what in.number sun come -Cmpltv -Perf over.there
WH Adv N Vint -Asp -T/A2 Adv

'How many years has she been there? (RA Personal Narrative 221 <756.713>)
'Who she? I don't know, maybe she has been there for ten years' (RA Personal Narrative 222 <758.454>)

'My! For a long time' (RA Personal Narrative 223 <760.391>)

'She has been there long enough, she has lived there for ten years, boy' (RA Personal Narrative 224 <762.341>)

'That is why I am suffering from sadness' (RA Personal Narrative 225 <766.347>)

'There is a price for going there' (RA Personal Narrative 226 <769.231>)

'Maybe it is ten thousand or eleven thousand that is there' (RA Personal Narrative 227 <770.513>)
'To go to Bartica or to Georgetown' (RA Personal Narrative 228 <774.018>)

möröwenai mígí mörö bök binimi dauya mó
mörö wenai mígÍ mörö pök pinimi ta -u -ya mörö
that because Hes that from walk say -l -Erg A.I.?  
Dem P Prtcl Dem P Vintr Vtr -Pers -Agr ?

'That is why I am travelling I am saying' (RA Personal Narrative 229 <776.822>)

abine bra sa'ne chi ò'rō gang diō, da dok a urō bök
abine bra sa'ne ji ò'rō kang i- tō ta tok ya urō pök
wait Neg Emph Emph what for 3- go say 3Pl Erg 1SG about
Vimp Neg Prtcl Prtcl WH P Pers- Vintr Vtr Pro P Pro P

'Because they are saying, 'what is he going for? this they are saying about me' (RA Personal Narrative 230 <781.088>)

ò'rō gang ji
ò'rō kang ji
what for Emph
WH P Prtcl

'What for?' (RA Personal Narrative 231 <784.032>)

yurō sa'ne ji iwano'pe binimi ze go
urō sa'ne ji iwanok -be pinimi serō ko
1SG Emph Emph possession -Attr walk S.I. Emph
Pro Prtcl Prtcl N -Azr Vintr Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

'I am travelling on my own independently' (RA Personal Narrative 232 <785.534>)

kamut'ai tazang
k- mu'ta -i ta -zak -ng
2S.Vet- reproduce -Vet say -Perf -Style
Persh- Vintr -Imp Vtr -T/A2 -?

uzang ya e'tane, mu'ta'pí
u- sang ya e'tane mu'ta -'pí
1- mother Erg although reproduce -Past
Persh N P Prtcl Prtcl? Vintr -T/A2

Although my mother said, don't make any children' I still got children' (RA Personal Narrative 233 <789.029>)

möröbanggong ji dōzak,
möröbang -gong ji tō -zak
thereafter -Pl.Abs Emph go -Perf
N -Nsfx Prtcl Vintr -T/A2
möröbanggong  mu'tazak  sungwa
möröbang  -gong  mu'ta  -zak  sungwa
thereafter  -Pl.Abs  reproduce  -Perf  far.away
N  -Nsfx  Vintr  -T/A2  Adv

'These are the ones who have gone far away and they are the ones that have gotten children' (RA Personal Narrative 234 <793.606>)

möröbanggong  eji  iwangbe,.  tok  ah..
möröbang  -gong  eji  iwang  -be  tok  ah
thereafter  -Pl.Abs  be  hunger  -Attr  3Pl  ah
N  -Nsfx  V  N  -Azr  Pro  Interj

pök  chi  airö  sendu'ma  mörö
pök  ji  airö  sendu'ma  mörö
for  Emph  sympathy  have.pity  A.I.?
P  Prtcl  Prtcl  Vintr  ?

'Because they say these are the ones that are hungry, I have pity for them' (RA Personal Narrative 235 <796.980>)

aikozô,  ò'rôdo'kong  chi
aigozô  ò'rô  -dok  -gong  ji
poor.thing  what  -Purp  -Pl.Abs  Emph
SW  WH  -??  -Nsfx  Prtcl

sebanggadai  go,  tabök  rö  eji
s-  ebangga  -dai  ko  ta  -bök  rö  eji
1A-  produce.many  -Past  Emph  say  -Prog  Emph  be
Pers-  Vtr  -T/A1  Prtcl  Vtr  -T/A2  Prtcl  V

'I keep saying, why did I bring them into this world' (RA Personal Narrative 236 <801.137>)

mörö  wenai  kuru  mígî  mörö,
mörö  wenai  kuru  mígî  mörö
that  because  Emph  Hes  that
Dem  P  Prtcl  Prtcl  Dem

'That is really why, that' (RA Personal Narrative 237 <803.890>)

mörö  mígî  biri'ning  be  ah...  mígî  ya
mörö  mígî  pirigî  -ning  pe  ah  mígî  ya
that  Hes  add.more  -A.Nzr  like  ah  this  Erg
Dem  Prtcl  Vtr  -Nzr  P  Interj  Pro  P

pasta  ya  diegare  egama
pasta  ya  i-  egare  egama
Pastor  Erg  3-  sermon  tell
N  P  Pers-  N  Vtr

'To add to this (HES) the pastor preached a sermon' (RA Personal Narrative 238 <805.974>)
'While your children are far away, you need to visit them and you need to prepare them' (RA Personal Narrative 239 <813.244>)

'amagolbe kise'ning, taim
a- magoi -be kîz- eji -ning taim
2- sin -Attr Neg.Imp- be -Neg.Perm time
Pers- N -Azr Imp- V -Imp N

mang u'ma'nobök tawong ya
mang u'madî -nobök ta -wong ya
3.be.Pres deplete -Prog say -Nzr/Rel? Erg
Cop Vtr -T/A3 Vtr -nzr P

yewangama ganang nörö
y- ewangama kanang nörö
10- make.worry again also
Pers- Vtr Adv? Adv?

'Don't let it be your sin, time is running out. Again, this is what is also making me sad' (RA Personal Narrative 240 <816.108>)

'mörö bona ganang e'tariba bra mang zero be
mörö pona kanang e'tariba bra mang serô pe
that until again get.drunk Neg 3.be.Pres this like
Dem P Adv? Vintr Neg Cop Pro P

'In addition, I am not drinking again presently' (RA Personal Narrative 241 <820.695>)

' I am not drinking like I use to long ago, I don't even smoked, there is nothing like that' (RA Personal Narrative 242 <823.178>)
serō rōgeng jo'chi dak dōngbök ejing...
serō rōgeng jo'chi tak tō -nōbōk eji -ng
this only church into go -Prog be -Style
Pro Prtcl N P Vintr -T/A3 V -?

tok a'kōrō geng ji
tok a'kōrō keng ji
3Pl Instr doubt Emph
Pro P Prtcl Prtcl

'Only now I am going to church with them' (RA Personal Narrative 243 <827.665>)

mōrōwenai ibira eji dauya
mōrō wenai ibira eji ta -u -ya
that because with.no.doubt be say -1 -Erg
Dem P Adv V Vtr -Pers -Agr

mō mōrōdong bra yeji wenai
mōrō mōrō -dong bra y- eji wenai
A.I.? that -Pl Neg 3- be because
? Dem -Nsfx Neg Pers- V P

'That is why I am saying I have nothing to hide anymore since those things are absent' (RA Personal Narrative 244 <830.358>)

tok rōgeng e'kiyari patamapōk echi mōrō
tok rōgeng e'kiyari padama -bōk eji mōrō
3Pl only food cultivate -Prog be A.I.?
Pro Prtcl N Vtr -T/A2 V -?

'I am only preparing their food farms' (RA Personal Narrative 245 <834.776>)

serōbe tri gaijarō mō
serō -be tri gaijarō mō
this -Attr three in.number farm
Pro -Azr Num Adv N

agī'sa'u'ya mōrō sungwa
agīdī -zak -u -ya mōrō sungwa
cut -Perf -1 -Erg A.I.? far.away
Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr ? Adv

'Presently I have cut down three farms over there' (RA Personal Narrative 246 <836.166>)

meguru yek pata, pi'i'ki eki yek,
meguru yek pada i- pi'i'ki egi yek
banana plant place 3- part cassava plant
N N N Pers- N N N
'There are the place for planting banana suckers, apart of it is for cassava' (RA Personal Narrative 247 <838.341>)

egepe tok ....mörö bök tok
ege -be tok mörö pök tok
big -Attr 3Pl that from 3Pl
N -Azr Pro Dem P Pro

ningga'sa'wa mörö
numī -gabī -zak -u -wa mörö
leave -Cmpltv -Perf -1 -Erg A.I.? Vtr -Asp -T/A2 -Pers -Agr ?

'That is what I have left them to live on' (RA Personal Narrative 248 <844.037>)

kamoro ji engse'na enna'po se sunday
kamoro ji ene -ze'na enna'po serō
3.Pl.Anim Emph see -Purp return this
Pro Prtcl V -VDer Vintr Pro

be ji... mm.. hī tok chi enze'na ganang
pe ji mm hī tok ji ene -ze'na kanang
like Emph mm Hes 3Pl Emph see -Purp again
P Prtcl SW Hes Pro Prtcl V -VDer Adv ?

'I am returning to visit them on Sunday. I am going to see them' (RA Personal Narrative 249 <846.633>)

tigingja bek audō ze?
tigingja bek a- tō serō
alone QP 2- go S.I.
Adv Prtcl Pers- Vintr Prtcl

'Are you going alone?' (RA Personal Narrative 250 <850.606>)

kane kirō mire arōuwa ba
kane kirō mire arō -u -wa pa
no 3Sg.Anim child carry -1 -Erg grandchild
? Pro N Vtr -Pers -Agr N

ganang dö ya'körō, janek mire
kanang tō y- a'körō janek mire
again go 1- Assoc Janet child
Adv? Vintr Pers- P N N

'No, I am carrying my child, my grandchild is going with me, Janet's child' (RA Personal Narrative 251 <851.560>)
'The one that is called an illegitimate child.' (RA Personal Narrative 252 <856.855>)

kïrô  rî'kwô nya domba  rî'kwô
kïrô  rî'kwô nya tomba  rî'kwô
38g.Anim Dim 1+3 relative Dim
Pro  Adv?  Pro N  Adv?

'That little one that is our relative' (RA Personal Narrative 253 <857.429>)

ewaik urô ba  ji  dô  kîrôrô
ewaik urô pa  ji  tô  kîrô  -rô
yes  18g grandchild Emph go  38g.Anim -Emph
Prtc1?  Pro N  Prtc1 Vintr  Pro  -Prtc1

mia'ta'pî  gwainek  mîgî
i-  ma'ta  '-pî  u-  ka  -i  -nek mîgî
3-  die  -Past 1-  say  -RPst  -Rel  Hes
Pers-  Vintr  -T/A2  Pers-  Vintr  -T/A1  -Rel  Prtc1

ah... önik rönamo, Ingrid mârerî'pî  dô
ah  önik rönamo Ingrid mïre  -rî'pî  tô
ah  who  uncrtn  Ingrid  child  -Past.Psn  go
Interj  WH  Prtc1  N  N  -NTns  Vintr

'Yes, Ingrid's orphan child, what ever is his name, my child is going' (RA Personal Narrative 254 <859.739>)

dïôbai  ye'tane
i-  tô  -bai  y-  eji  -dane
3-  go  -Desid  3-  be  -while
Pers-  Vintr  -Vdrv  Pers-  V  -T/A2?

niïngbôdîuya  mô  skur  dau,
i-  nîmî  -bôdî  -u  -ya  môrô  skur  tau
3-  leave  -Hab  -1  -Erg  A.I.?  school  within
Pers-  Vtr  -Asp  -Pers  -Agr  ?  N  P

e'tane serô be  ji  yebori'mazak  chi  môrô
e'tane serô pe  ji  y-  eboro  -i'ma  -zak  ji  môrô
but  this  like  Emph  3-  find  -While  -Perf  Emph  A.I.?
PRTCL?  Pro  P  Prtc1  Pers-  Vtr  -?  -T/A2  Prtc1  ?

'I have always left him at school, while he wants to go, this time he is happy that he is really going' (RA Personal Narrative 255 <868.064>)
'Let me go for a short while' he has said.' (RA Personal Narrative 256 <870.935>)

tingnō miǐre  esh'pī
tiginnō  i-  mīre  eji -'pī
one  3-  child  be -Past
Num  Pers-  N  V  -T/A2

'She had only one child' (RA Personal Narrative 257 <873.992>)

hī.. umm tingnō, diewing  yau  ima'ta'pī  mōrō
hī  um  tiginnō  i-  ewang  yau  i-  ma'ta -'pī  mōrō
Hes  um  one  3-  tummy  in  3-  die  -Past  A.I.?  
Hes  SW  Num  Pers-  N  P  Pers-  Vintr  -T/A2  ?

'She died with one in her tummy' (RA Personal Narrative 258 <875.111>)

ō'rō  be  nōrō  mia'ta'pī?
ō'rō  pe  nōrō  i-  ma'ta -'pī
what  like  also  3-  die  -Past
WH  P  Adv?  Pers-  Vintr  -T/A2

'How come she died?' (RA Personal Narrative 259 <877.056>)

diodo  ya  a'chi'pī  nigadaine  tok  ko
idodo  ya  a'chi -'pī  n-  ka  -dai  -ne  tok  ko
killer  Erg  hold  -Past  3S-  say  -Past  -Emph  3P1  Emph
N  P  Vtr  -T/A2  Pers-  Vintr  -T/A1  -Prtcl  Pro  Prtcl

'They say the kanaimō hold/killed her' (RA Personal Narrative 260 <878.977>)

diodo  ya  iwōnō'pī,  marariya  goro'tau  rō
idodo  ya  i-  wōnō -'pī  marariya  koro'tau  rō
killer  Erg  3-  kill  -Past  malaria  while  Emph
N  P  Pers-  Vtr  -T/A2  N  P  Prtcl

'The kanaimō kill her while she was also having malaria' (RA Personal Narrative 261 <881.062>)

mōrōwenai  ko'mamī dausya  mō
mōrō  wenai  ko'mamī  ta  -u  -ya  mōrō
that  because  live  say  -1  -Erg  A.I.?  
Dem  P  Vintr  Vtr  -Pers  -Agr  ?

tingnō  biada  bra  go'mamī
tiginnō  i-  pada  bra  ko'mamī
one  3-  place  Neg  live
Num  Pers-  N  Neg  Vintr

'That is why I live without one place of abode' (RA Personal Narrative 262 <883.343>)
möröwenai mörö ji köik amök
mörö wenai mörö ji köik amök
that because that Emph old.man Pl
Dem P Dem Prtcl N Num

go'mangbodi'ipi sa'ne ji prarö
ko'mami -bodi' -ipi sa'ne ji bra -rô
live -Iter -Past Emph Emph Neg -Emph
Vintr -Asp -T/A2 Prtcl Prtcl Neg -Prtcl
ji taulya mö se au ji zemo'kazak ke
y- eji ta -u -ya mörö serô yau ji semo'ka -zak ke
3- be say -l -Erg that this Loc Emph grow.up -Perf Instr
Pers- Vintr Vtr -Pers -Agr Dem Pro P Prtcl Vintr -T/A2 P

'That is why I say that the old customs of the old men is non
existent, because I grew up here' (RA Personal Narrative 263 <888.693>)

sungwa zemo'kazak a'tai eji'no,
sungwa semo'ka -zak a'tai eji -i'no
far.away grow.up -Perf if be -Cond
Adv Vintr -T/A2 Conj? V -T/A2?

e'tane ji tok rönig ji emböksa'a mang
eji -dane ji tok nöning ji ene -bodi' -zak -u -ya mang
be -while Emph 3Pl only Emph see -Iter -Perf -l -Erg 3.be.Pres
V -T/A2? Prtcl Pro Prtcl Prtcl V -Asp -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Cop

'If I had grew up over yonder I would have known, but I have
only observed them' RA Personal Narrative 264 <893.473>)

tok pek ebadamabodi'ipi serairö,
tok bek e' padama -bodi' -ipi serairö
3Pl QP Detr- settle -Iter -Past within.here
Pro Prtcl Intr- Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Adv

nigabö'ang dok?
n- ka -bodi' -ang tok
3S- say -Iter -Pres 3Pl
Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 Pro

'Do they say that they all settled here? (RA Personal Narrative 265
<898.267>)

a'tai tok ebadama'ipi warimabiya au
a'tai tok e' padama -'ipi warimabiya yau
yes 3Pl Detr- settle -Past Warimabia Loc
Prtcl? Pro Intr- Vtr -T/A2 N P

bek, ok e'ipi eenanogong pra
bek ok e'ipi a- ena -'nogong bra
QP game bone 2- become -Pl Neg
Prtcl N N Pers- Vint -Num Neg
nai, ka'pong ye'pĩ
nai ka'pong yebi -'pĩ
3.be.Pres person come -Past
Vintri N Vint -T/A2

'Of course, they settled in Warimabia, have you all not seen
human skeletons there?' (RA Personal Narrative 266 <901.608>)

urō bra ji ye'tane
urō bra ji y- eji -dane
1Sg Neg Emph 3- be -while
Pro Neg Prtcl Pers- V -T/A2?

'This was when I was not there' (RA Personal Narrative 267 <905.978>)

pena kuru
pena kuru
long.ago Emph
Adv Prtcl

'Very long ago' (RA Personal Narrative 268 <908.077>)

areguna amök ebanda'xamabɔdĩ'pĩ ji mọ
Areguna amök ebanda'ma -bɔdĩ -'pĩ ji mɔrɔ
Arekuna Pl fight -Hab -Past Emph that
N Num Vintri -Asp -T/A2 Prtcl Dem

go sungwa, mairɔŋg....
go sungwa mairɔng -ng
Emph far.away over.there -Nzr
Prtcl Adv Adv -Nzr

'The Arekunas use to fight over yonder, over there' (RA Personal
Narrative 269 <909.022>)

kamarakata amök ebanda'xamabɔdĩ'pĩ Areguna
kamarakata amök ebanda'ma -bɔdĩ -'pĩ Areguna
Kamarakoto Pl fight -Hab -Past Arekuna
N Num Vintri -Asp -T/A2 N

a'kɔrɔ nɪgbɔ'ang dok
a'kɔrɔ n- ka -bɔdĩ -ang tok
Assoc 3S- say -Hab -Pres 3Pl
P Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 Pro

'The kamarakotos use to fight with the Arekunas, so they say' (RA
Personal Narrative 270 <913.125>)

serawonggong ebanda'ma'pĩ areguna a'kɔrɔ rɔma
serau -ng -gong ebanda'ma -'pĩ Areguna a'kɔrɔ rɔma
here -Nzr -Pl fight -Past Arekuna Assoc also
Adv -Nzr -Nsfx Vintri -T/A2 N P ?

'The ones that were here also fought with the Arekunas' (RA Personal
Narrative 271 <916.212>)
'The ones here too fought with the Makushis, so they use to say' (RA Personal Narrative 272 <919.094>)

möröbang ji mairō na'nek
möröbang jí mairō nai -nek
thereafter Emph over.these 3.be.Pres -Rel
N Prtcl Adv Vintr -Rel

Warimabiyak tok ye'pök mörawong ji'kō
Warimabiyak -k tok yebī -bōdī mörau -ng ji'kō
Warimabia -Style 3Pl come -Hab there -Nzr from
N -? Pro Vint -Asp Adv -Nzr P

Parimō bona tok ye'pök
Parimō pona tok yebī -bōdī
Paruima unto 3Pl come -Hab
N P Pro Vint -Asp

'then, they came to warimabiyaka, then they came to Paruima' (RA Personal Narrative 273 <922.261>)

egebe rō ji tok e'nonggabōdī'pī
ege -be rō ji tok e'- nongga -bōdī -'pī
big -Attr Emph Emph 3Pl Detr- leave -Hab -Past
N -Azr Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pro Intr- Vtr -Asp -T/A2

'then they remained in great numbers' (RA Personal Narrative 274 <926.504>)

e'tane ji mörō nang estapma'pī namo
e'tane ji mörō namo estapma -'pī namo
but Emph that Uncrtnty stop -Past Uncrtnty
PRTCL? Prtcl Dem Prtcl Vintr -T/A2 Prtcl

mörō i'tu bra rō sak ji
mörō i'tu bra rō sa'ne y- eji
that know Neg Emph Emph 3- be
Dem Vtr Neg Prtcl Prtcl PRTCL Pers- V

'But that stopped, maybe no one knows that for sure' (RA Personal Narrative 275 <928.630>)
That is why there are skeletons at Warimabiya, human skeletons. (RA Personal Narrative 276 <932.533>)

kuzangdong nígabô’angne tok
kuzang -dong n- ka -bôdî -ang -ne tok
long -Pl 3S- say -Hab -Pres -Emph 3P1
N -Nsfx Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 -Prtcl Pro

ko mûra’tai ji egedongbe tok
ko mûra’tai ji ege -dong -be tok
Emph at that time Emph big -Pl -Attr 3P1
Prtcl Adv? Prtcl N -Nsfx -Azr Pro

e’pôdî’pî, eh.. eh tok e’pôdî’pî
eji -bôdî ’pî eh eh tok eji -bôdî ’pî
be -Hab -Past yes yes 3P1 be -Hab -Past
V -Asp -T/A2 Prtcl Prtcl Pro V -Asp -T/A2

'The skeletons are big because at that time the people use to be big. (RA Personal Narrative 277 <937.663>)

egèbe tok pijibung eji nígabôk
egè -be tok pijibung eji n- ka -bôdî
ing -Attr 3P1 calves be 3S- say -Iter
N -Azr Pro N V Pers- Vintr -Asp

eye’pôdong, nígabô’angne tok ko
y- e’pî -dong n- ka -bôdî -ang -ne tok ko
3- bone -Pl 3S- say -Iter -Pres -Emph 3P1 Emph
Pers- N -Nsfx Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 -Prtcl Prtcl Pro Prtcl

'Their calves were big therefore their skeletons were big, so they say. (RA Personal Narrative 278 <941.086>)

mûrô wenai mîgî mûrôrwô rôgeng
mûrô wenai mîgî mûrô rî’kwô rôgeng
that because Hes that Dim only
Dem P Prtcl Dem Adv? Prtcl

dio’ka’nãiguwa dabôk e’tane chiya mîgî
i- to’kanîgi -u -wa ta -bôk eji -dane chiya mîgî
3- understand -1 -Erg say -Prog be -while far away Hes

'That is the only thing I understand I say but further’ RA Personal Narrative 279 <944.713>}

go’mannôdok i’tuya bra rô
ko’mamî -nô -dok i’tu -u -ya bra rô
live -Inf -Nsr know -1 -Erg Neg Emph
Vintr -Vinfl -Nsr Vtr -Pers -Agr Neg Prtcl
jibök  tauya  mörö, mörö ning
eji -bök ta -u -ya mörö mörö ning
be -Prog say -l -Erg A.I.? that Emph
V  -T/A2 Vtr -Pers -Agr  Dem  Prtcl

zemoka'pi  au rögeng i'tuuya
semo'ka  -'pi yau rögeng i'tu -u -ya
grow.up  -Past Loc only know -l -Erg
Vintr  -T/A2 P  Prtcl  Vtr -Pers -Agr

'I do not know the culture, I only know the one I grew up in' (RA Personal Narrative 280 <949.939>)

mörö wenai  biira  rö  mang
mörö wenai ibira  rö  mang
that because nothing Emph  3.be.Pres
Dem  P  Adv  Prtcl  Cop

dauya  mörendak  negamadong  bra
ta -u -ya mörö endak n- egama -dong bra
say -l -Erg that beyond 0.Nzr- tell -Pl Neg
Vtr -Pers -Agr Dem  P  Nzr- Vtr -Nsfx Neg

diuwa  mörö endai ji  au
ta -u -ya mörö endai ji  yau
say -l -Erg that beyond Emph Loc
Vtr -Pers -Agr Dem  P  Prtcl  P

go'mangbödī  mō,  eh... eh  mörö kwō  rögeng
ko'mamī  -bōdī mō  eh  eh  mörö rī'kwō  rögeng
live  -Iter Uncrtn yes yes that Dim only
Vintr  -Asp  Prtcl  Prtcl  Prtcl  Dem  Adv?  Prtcl

'That is why I say there is no more beyond that for me to talk about and that is all' (RA Personal Narrative 281 <953.505>)

IIB. Miding Maimu

13. CB Personal Narrative

4. CB Personal Narrative, Meeding Maimu

urō kwō  mibori'madōu
urō rī'kwō mī- bori'ma  -dōu
1SG Dim  2A- make.happy  -Pl.Past
Pro  Adv?  Pers- Vtr  -T/A1

'You all made me happy' (CB. Personal Narrative 001 <0.000>)
amóró'nogong
2Sg -Pl
Pro -Num

'All of you' (CB. Personal Narrative 002 <5.228>)

nīzaurogī'i'nang
n- zaurogī -i -nek -nang
3S- talk -RPst -Rel -Pl
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 -Rel -Num

'Those who spoke' (CB. Personal Narrative 003 <6.409>)

mebori'madōu
mī- e'- bori'ma -dōu
2Sa- Detr- make.happy -Pl.Past
Pers- Intr- Vtr -T/A1

'You were being happy' (CB. Personal Narrative 004 <8.312>)

ō'rō nang da ezerube tugaik
ō'rō namo ta ezeru -be t- ga -ze
what Uncrtnty say ways -Attr Adv- say -Prtcpl
WH Prtcl Vtr N -Azr ?- Vintr -Vdt

zenmingga zerō biambe serōbe
zenmingga zerō ibang -be zerō -be
think this serious -Attr this -Attr
Vintr Pro N -Azr Pro -Azr

'I do not know why, in what fashion like that I am thinking so seriously at this time' (CB. Personal Narrative 005 <9.814>)

naigaza tōwō yeji iche eji
naigaza tōwō y- eji i- che eji
how let 3- be 3- Desid be
WH Prtcl Pers- Vintr Pers- P Vintr

goro'tau, ye'nonggazak pōk
goro'tau y- e'nongga -zak bōk
within 3- leave -Perf WRT
Adv? Pers- Vintr -T/A2 P

'I do not know while I wanted her to be that way, she has left' (CB. Personal Narrative 006 <14.380>)

tangi gwaaiik dauya'nogong
tangi u- ga -aik ta -au -ya -'nogong
thank.you 1- say -Pres say 2 -Erg -Pl
?? Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Vtr -Pers -Agr -Num
'You all say thank you, you all' (CB. Personal Narrative 007 <20.549>)

e'tane ning urō sa'ne ebori'ma bra aik
but Emph 1Sg Emph Detr- make.happy Neg be -Pres
PRTCL? Prtcl Pro Prtcl Intr- Vtr Neg Vintr -T/A1

'But me I am not at all happy' (CB. Personal Narrative 008 <26.057>)

biambé ebogoima zerō
serious -Attr feel.sad S.I.
N -Azr Vintr Prtcl

'I am in a serious state of sadness' (CB. Personal Narrative 009 <28.481>)

biambé kuru ebogoima
serious -Attr Emph feel.sad
N -Azr Prtcl Vintr

'I am really sad' (CB. Personal Narrative 010 <30.684>)

nyaro rī'kwō rō gio'ma be
nyarō rī'kwō rō i- go'mamī be
further.on Dim Emph 3- live like

yenubabō'rō gio'mamī be
y- enuba -bök -rō i- go'mamī be
1- teach -Prog -Emph 3- live like
Pers- Vtr -T/A2 -Prtcl Pers- Vintr P

'обы' mamī be tegamaik
i- go'mamī be t- egama -ze
3- live like Adv- think -Prtcl
Pers- Vintr P ?- Vtr -Vder

'I thought she would have lived onwards, living while teaching me or so I thought' (CB. Personal Narrative 011 <32.807>)

urō ning bogoidambi zerō
urō ning pogoida -mbi zerō
1Sg Emph feel.sad -Caus S.I.
Pro Prtcl Vintr -Val Prtcl

'It is making me very sad' (CB. Personal Narrative 012 <38.295>)
'Let her live like that' (CB. Personal Narrative 013 <41.059>)

ō'ro bra ri'kwō rō mang, mörō gaza
ō'ro bra ri'kwō rō mang mörō gaza
what Neg Dim Emph 3.be.Pres that like
WH Neg Adv? Prtcl Cop Dem P

tengi gwaaik, ip~ing ning urō sa'ne
tangl u- ga -alik ibing ning urō sa'ne
thank.you l- say -Pres nothing Emph 1Sg Emph
?? Pers- Vintr -T/A1 N Prtcl Pro Prtcl

'I do not have anything and is saying thanks in that way, I have nothing and that is me' (CB. Personal Narrative 014 <46.386>)

ōnig keng ragik nonggas'a sa'ne
ōnig geng ragik nongga -zak -au -ya sa'ne
who doubt type leave -Perf -2 -Erg Emph
WH Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl

(I wonder) what type of person you have left (in her place) (CB. Personal Narrative 015 <48.019>)

tiwenduzang pōk sa'ne pazang
t- endu -zang bōk sa'ne pazang
Adv- be.born -Pl.Nzr about Emph thrashing.legs
?- Vintr -Nzr P Prtcl SW

diya egarebōk dōbō'tai
ta -i -ya egarebōk dō -bōdī -dai
say -3 -Erg after go -Hab -Past
Vtr -Pers -Agr P Vintr -Asp -T/A1

'I have been to see her making a fuss over those that were giving birth' (CB. Personal Narrative 016 <50.632>)

mō au ri'kwō urō ba'se karadai'ma egarebōk
mō rah rī'kwō urō ba'se karadai'ma egarebōk
there Dim 1Sg daughter.in.law try.to.help.Frust after
Adv Adv? Pro N Vtr P

'Over there where my daughter-in-law was being attended to' (CB. Personal Narrative 017 <55.610>)

a'kirį'sak mang tabō'nōbōk
a'kiridī -zak mang ta -bōdī -nōbōk
get.stuck -Perf 3.be.Pres say -Iter -Prog
Vintr -T/A2 Cop Vtr -Asp -T/A3

'Because it was said that it has stuck (she was having a breech birth)' (CB. Personal Narrative 018 <59.485>)
mőrő dīboi  yenna'po'pī  na'nek  diegarebök
mőrő dībo -i  y- enna'po' -pī  nai  -nek  i-  egearebök
that after -Psd  3-  return -Past  3.be.Pres  -Rel  3-  after
Dem  Pos  -Ninfl  Pers-  Vintr  -T/A2  Vintr  -Rel  Pers-  P

'Then after this, when she went back (to look) after her' (CB. Personal Narrative 019 <62.199>)

pizerō  rō  ganang
pize  -rō  rō  kanang
this.Anim  -Emph  Emph  again
Pro  -Prtcl  Prtcl  Adv?

'This same one again' (CB. Personal Narrative 020 <64.592>)

mőrő gaza bek,  nai  gaza  ōnık  rōji  enau
mőrő gaza bek  nai  gaza  ōnık  rō  -ji  enau
that like QP  what like who  Emph  -Emph  in.hand
Dem  P  Prtcl  N  P  WH  Prtcl  -Prtcl  P

'Is this how it will be? How, in whose hands? (CB. Personal Narrative 021 <66.044>)

abinenggō  n ya  go  ta'tabinong,  mőrő
abine  ene  -gō  nya  ko  ta'ta  -bing  -ng  mőrő
wait  see  -Imper  1+3  Emph  doctor  -Priv  -Nsr  that
Vimp  V  -T/A  Pro  Prtcl  N  -NDer  -Nsr  Dem

eenujimauya  endōk
a-  enujima  -u  -ya  ene  -dōk
2-  point.out  -1  -Erg  see  -Pl.Imp
Pers-  Vtr  -Pers  -Agr  V  -Imp

'Wait, look at this, we are the ones without a doctor, you-all see me point this out to you' (CB. Personal Narrative 022 <71.002>)

se  gaza  kuru  giu'kō  gwainek
zerō  gaza  kuru  i-  gubī  -gō  u-  ga  -i  -nek
this  like  Emph  3-  do  -Imper  1-  say  -RPst  -Rel
Pro  P  Prtcl  Pers-  Vtr  -T/A  Pers-  Vintr  -T/A1  -Rel

go,  se  gaza  kwaa'i'  ko
ko  zerō  gaza  u-  ka  -aik  ko
Emph  this  like  1-  say  -Pres  Emph
Prtcl  Pro  P  Pers-  Vintr  -T/A1  Prtcl

'Do it like this, like this I say' (CB. Personal Narrative 023 <76.839>)

e'tane  pīze  uya  ano'mabōdī
e'tane  pīze  ya  ano'ma  -bōdī
but  this.Anim  Erg  make.mistake  -Iter
PRTCL?  Pro  P  Vtr  -Asp

'But this one kept making mistakes' (CB. Personal Narrative 024 <78.913>)
nai gaza migu'yang?
N N P Pers- Vtr -T/A1

'How are you doing it? (CB. Personal Narrative 025 <81.245>)

e'sara'tó mórô
start A.I.?

'I then started' (CB.Personal Narrative 026 <82.687>)

se gaza se gaza se gaza
this like this like this like

'Like this, like this, like this' (CB.Personal Narrative 027 <84.189>)

mórô ró na'nek kaza ri'kwô kamo mïredong enuba
mórô ró na'nek gaza ri'kwô kamoro mïre -dong enuba
that Emph exactly like Dim 3.Pl.Anim child -Pl teach
Dem Prtcl Prtcl? P Adv? Pro N -Nsfx Vtr

pïze uya be egamazau'ya be e'tane
pïze ya be egama -zak -u -ya be eji -dane
this.Anim Erg like think -Perf -1 -Erg like be -while
Pro P P Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr P Vintr -T/A2?

'So While I thought that this one would be teaching those children
in this fashion' (CB.Personal Narrative 028 <85.792>)

abïne tenugong yak tok ena'pî
abïne t- enu -gong yak tok ena -'pî
while 3.Rfl- eye -Pl.Psr into 3P1 become -Past
prtcl Pers- N -Nsfx P Pro Vint -T/A2

bra ye'tane, aï'tou!
brï y- eji -dane aï'tou
Neg 3- be -while slam!
Neg Pers- Vintr -T/A2? SW

'And while they have not taken in enough knowledge, aï'tou!(CB.
Personal Narrative 029 <91.259>)

kamoro uya bek uyene zero
kamoro ya bek u- ene zero
3.Pl.Anim Erg QP 1- see S.I.
Pro P Prtcl Pers- V Prtcl

uyerubagado'a
u- erubaga -dok -au -ya
1- take.away.breath -Fut -2 -Erg
Pers- Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr
'Are these the ones who will look after me, they will take away my breath (kill me), and I know it is in this way. (CB PERSONAL NARRATIVE 030 <94.223>)

tok a rō sa'ne ma'tambī
tok ya rō sa'ne ma'ta -mbī
3Pl Erg Emph Emph die -Epist
Pro P Prtcl Prtcl Vintr -T/A2

'They may even kill me' (CB PERSONAL NARRATIVE 031 <99.091>)

mōrō gaza bra pîzerō
eseru engzau'ya,
mōrō gaza bra pîze -rō -sérō ene -zak -u -ya
that like Neg this.Anim -Emph ways see -Perf -1 -Erg
Dem P Neg Pro -Prtcl N V -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'This is not how I have seen the ways of this one' (CB PERSONAL NARRATIVE 032 <101.553>)

nyarō ri'kwō rō rō na'kō tīnongga
nyarō ri'kwō rō rō na'kō t- nongga
further.on Dim Emph Emph maybe 3.Rfl- leave

teburudong ya bonarō rō
t- eburu -dong ya bona -rō rō
3.Rfl- boss -Pl Erg until -Emph Emph
Pers N -Nsfx P P -Prtcl Prtcl

kio'mamī tugaik ri'kwō rō
i- go'mamī t- ga -ze ri'kwō rō
3- live Adv say -Prtcl Dim Emph
Pers Vintr ?- Vintr -Vder Adv? Prtcl

sa'ne wamra te'pō'seng urō
sa'ne wamra t- eji -bōdī -zeng urō
Emph Ignor Adv be -Hab -Abs.Nzr 1Sg
Prtcl P ?- Vintr -Asp -Nzr Pro

'I have always thought that she will be there until her administrators tell her to leave and I have forgotten about this, this is how I am' (CB PERSONAL NARRATIVE 033 <104.398>)

mōrāu ji mōrō maing nō na'nek
mōrāu ji mōrō maing nō nai -nek
there Emph that word Emph 3.be.Pres -Rel
Adv Prtcl Dem N Prtcl Vintr -Rel

'There is always speech that is there' (CB PERSONAL NARRATIVE 034) <111.507>
(This is) something that is bad... They would not answer me' (CB. Personal Narrative 035 <113.291>)

e'pa'tō
e'pa'tō
give.directions
Vtr

'giving directions' (CB. Personal Narrative 036 <116.555>)

ege'pe  yendu'pi,
  möröbang
egë -be  y-   endu   -'pî  möröbang
big  -Attr 3-  be.born  -Past  thereafter
N -Azr  Pers- Vintr  -T/A2  N

iwoi  woi'mabō'kō  ta'piya
i-  woi'woi'ma   -bōdī  -gō  ta  -'pî  i  -ya
3-  rub.in.circles  -Iter  -Imper  say  -Past  -3  -Erg
Pers-  Vtr  -Asp  -T/A  Vtr  -T/A2  -Pers  -Agr

'It was born big, so she said rub the baby in a circular fashion' (CB. Personal Narrative 037 <117.537>)

biira  na'nek  jang  bök
ibīra  nai   -nek  i-  sang  bök
absent 3.be.Pres  -Rel 3-  mother to
Adv  Vintr  -Rel  Pers-  N  P

woi  woi  woik
woik  woik  woik
rub.in.circles  rub.in.circles  rub.in.circles
SW  SW  SW

'to the mother who is not here woi-woi-woi' (CB. Personal Narrative 038 <121.361>)

mörö  gaza  bra  rō  sa'ne,  ege'pe  yenduzak
mörö  gaza  bra  rō  sa'ne  ege  -be  y-   endu   -zak
that like  Neg  Emph  Emph  big  -Attr 3-  be.born  -Perf
Dem  P  Neg  Prtcl  Prtcl  N  -Azr  Pers-  Vintr  -T/A2

rō  sa'ne  bök,  inonggadonggong  nō  na'kō  enau,
rō  sa'ne  bök  i-  nongga  -dong  -gong  nō  na'kō  enau
Emph  Emph  to  3-  leave  -Put  -Pl.Abs  Emph  maybe  in.hand
Prtcl  Prtcl  P  Pers-  Vtr  -T/A2  -Nsfx  Prtcl  Adv  P

ō'rō  be  ku  ji  ke  sa'ne  ye'nunggazak
ō'rō  be  kuru  y-  eji  ge  sa'ne  y-  e'nungga  -zak
what like  Emph  3-  be  Instr  Emph  3-  leave  -Perf
WH  P  Prtcl  Pers-  Vintr  P  Prtcl  Pers-  Vintr  -T/A2
'In a manner that is not like that, to one that is still born, and to those that will give up on it that she is leaving us. For what reason is she really leaving?' (CB. Personal Narrative 039 <122.985>)

'biorō'ima  be  sa'ne  ji  yi'tuiya
i-  parō'ima  pe  sa'ne  ji  y-  i'tu -i  -ya
3- according to like  Emph  Emph  3- know -3  -Erg
Pers-  Vintr  P  Prtcl Prtcl  Pers-  Vtr  -Pers  -Agr

bra  ji  ge  zenumingga
bra y-  eji  ke  z-  enumingga
Neg 3-  be  Instr  Detr  make wonder
Neg  Pers-  Vintr  P  Intr-  Vtr

According to her, because she does not know, I am wondering thinking' (CB. Personal Narrative 040 <132.968>)

'se  berō  oroik  tugaik  rō
zerō  pe  -rō  oroik  t-  ka  -ze  rō
this like  -Emph  take out  Adv-  say  -Prtcpl  Emph
Pro  P  -Prtcl  SW  ?-  Vintr  -Vder  Prtcl

'Just like that, in a sudden snatch fashion' (CB. Personal Narrative 041 <136.144>)

'ye'nonggazak  mang,  tok  ya  nonggazak
y-  e'nongga  -zak  mang  tok  ya  nongga  -zak
3- leave  -Perf 3 be Pres 3pl  Erg  leave  -Perf
Pers-  Vintr  -T/A2  Cop  Pro  P  Vtr  -T/A2

ye'burudong  migi  rō  e'ku'sak  rō
y-  eburu  -dong  migi  rō  e'-  kubi  -zak  rō
1- boss  -Pl  Hes  Emph  Detr-  make  -Perf  Emph
Pers-  N  -Nsfx  Prtcl  Prtcl  Intr-  Vtr  -T/A2  Prtcl

'She has left, they have let me go, my administrators, or I have just decided to go' (CB. Personal Narrative 042 <137.875>)

'tiya  bra  rō  sa'ne  urō  bōk
ta -i  -ya  bra  rō  sa'ne  urō  pōk
say -3  -Erg  Neg  Emph  Emph  1SG  to
Vtr  -Pers  -Agr  Neg  Prtcl  Prtcl  Pro  P

'She has not said so to me' (CB. Personal Narrative 043-44 <142.433>)

'ina jagong  bōk  tauya  ji  mōrō  zenumingga
nya  ijagong  pōk  ta  -u  -ya  ji  mōrō  z-  enumingga
1+3 partner to  say  -1  -Erg  Emph  A.I.?  Detr- make wonder
Pro  N  P  Vtr  -Pers  -Agr  Prtcl  ?  Intr-  Vtr

'Okay, I said to her partner as I was wondering thinking' (CB. Personal Narrative 045 <145.007>)
'This is seriously making me sad the fact that she has left' (CB. Personal Narrative 046 <149.572>)

webori'ma beng ning
w- ebori'ma beng ning
1- be.happy Neg Emph
Pres- Vintr Neg Prtcl

'and I am not rejoicing' (CB. Personal Narrative 047 <152.578>)

mörö gaza ku gu'sai'ya rï'kwörö bök
mörö kaza ku practicing -i -ya rï'kwörö -rö pok
that like Emph do -Perf -3 Erg Dim -Emph from

tangi gwaai k tauya beng ning
tangi u- ka -aik ta -u -ya beng ning
thank.you 1- say -Pres say -1 Erg Neg Emph
?? Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Vtr -Pers -Agr Neg Prtcl

'I am not saying that I am saying thank you because she looked
after me' (CB. Personal Narrative 048 <154.740>)

miyañorö nang ji yezak pe ibaröma'nek
miyañorö namo ji y- ezak pe i- baröma'nek
farther.on Uncrtnty Emph 1- owner like 3- according.to

ey'nümi bonarö röning cha'ne uye'zak pe
y- e'numü pona -rö nöning sa'ne u- eji -zak pe
3- sleep until -Emph only Emph 1- be -Perf like
Pers- Vintr P Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr PRTCL?

iko'mam be egama'ya e'tane
i- ko'mamì pe egama -zak -u -ya e'tane
3- live like think -Perf -1 Erg although
Pers- Vintr P Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr PRTCL?

'While I thought she would have been there in the future as my
care taker and according to her until she sleeps/dies(CB. Personal
Narrative 049 <158.546>)

ö'rö ya geng sa'ne imo'kazak nai sebe rö
ö'rö ya geng sa'ne i- mo'ka -zak nai sebe rö
what Erg doubt Emph 3- take.away -Perf 3.be.Pres suddenly Emph
WH P Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vtr -T/A2 Vintr Adv Prtcl

'What has taken her off at this time' (CB. Personal Narrative 050
<164.715>)
'Maybe it is the sinful one' (CB. Personal Narrative 051 <168.340>)

 kirörö  kirö  magoi se  gaza rö
 kirö  -rö  kirö  magoi zerö kaza rö
 3Sg.Anim -Cop? 3Sg.Anim sin  this like Emph
 Pro  -?  Pro  N  Pro  P  Prtcl

 mo'kaning  dawong
 mo'ka  -ning  ta  -wong
 take.away  -A.Nzr  say  -Nzr/Rel?
 Vtr  -Nzr  Vtr  -nzn

'It is only the sinful one (evil/Satan) who can take you away suddenly, they say (CB. Personal Narrative 052 <169.742>)

 någaaik  ne  go
 n- ka  -aik  ne  ko
 3S- say  -Pres particularly Emph
 Pers-Vintr  -T/A1 Prtcl  Prtcl

'It says' (CB. Personal Narrative 053 <173.067>)

 mörö bang  nö  geng  bök  tendi
 mörö pe  -ang  nö  geng  pök  tangi
 that like -Nzr Emph doubt to thank.you
 Dem  P  -Nzr  Prtcl  Prtcl  P  ??

 dauya  bra aik
 ta  -u  ya  bra  eji  -aik
 say  -1  -Erg  Neg  be  -Pres
 Vtr  -Pers  -Agr  Neg  Vintr  -T/A1

'To such one I am not saying thank you' (CB. Personal Narrative 054 <174.349>)

 kamoro  kuru  urö  bayang  amök  ya  tanks  ta  mang,
 kamoro  kuru  urö  payang  amök  ya  tangi  ta  mang
 3.Pl.Anim  Emph  1Sg grandchildren  Pl  Erg  thank.you  say  3.be.Pres
 Pro  Prtcl  Pro  N  Num  P  ??  Vtr  Cop

'Those ones my grandchildren are saying thanks' (CB. Personal Narrative 055 <177.132>)

 nesa'pööiinek  yaí  ri'kwörö  no'sang
 n-  ezagi -bodi -i  -nek  yai  ri'kwö -rö  no'sang
 3A30- name  -Iter  -RPst  -Rel through  Dim  -Emph  old.lady
 Pers-Vtr  -Asp  -T/A1  -Rel  P  Adv?  -Prtcl  N
'Through what she named, as an old lady, I will go with her' (CB. Personal Narrative 056 <180.007>)
"I will not even come" (CB.Personal Narrative 062 <199.806>)

'e'nepe rō sa'ne merchimui kanneboda"

e'nek -be rō sa'ne merchimu -i kann- eboro -da -ik
sick -Attr Emph Emph medicine -Psd 3.Intent- find -go -Intent
N -Azr Prtcl Prtcl N -Ninfl Pers- Vtr -Dir -Imp

ya ibiyak taula bra ji
ya i- piyak ta -u -ya bra eji
Emph 3- near.to say -1 -Erg Neg be
Prtcl Pers- P Vtr -Pers -Agr Neg Vintr

'I am not going to say because I am sick, let me go and get some medicine by her' (CB. Personal Narrative 063 <201.687>)

segamaai'nek kaza tibi'peng ge rō
si- egama -aik -nek kaza i- ebik beng ke rō
1A- tell -Pres -Rel like 3- medicine Neg Instr Emph
Pers- Vtr -T/A1 -Rel P Pers- N Neg P Prtcl

uyennaga mire amōk ya bogeng i'tu wiya
u- ennaga mire amōk ya bogeng i'tu w- ya
1- trick child Pl Erg like.manner know 1- Erg
Pers- Vtr N Num P N Vtr Prs- P

'As I said it seems to me that the children will give me the wrong medicine' (CB. Personal Narrative 064 <204.473>)

mai'pa bogeng nō
mai'pa bogeng nō
poison like.manner Emph
Vtr P Prtcl

'it is like poisoning me' (CB. Personal Narrative 065 <209.778>)

tok sa'ne senubaga'sak braiji
tok sa'ne z- enubaga -gabi -zak bra y- eji
3Pl Emph Detr- teach -Compltv -Perf Neg 3- be
Pro Prtcl Intr- Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Neg Pers- Vintr

'They are not really trained' (CB. Personal Narrative 066 <212.825>)

mōro gaza ri'kwō rōgeng sa'ne urō ebogoimasak mang
mōro kaza ri'kwō rōgeng sa'ne urō ebogoima -zak mang
that like Dim only Emph 1Sg feel.sad -Perf 3.be.Pres
Dem P Adv? Prtcl Prtcl Pro Vintr -T/A2 Cop

'That is the only way I have been sad' (CB. Personal Narrative 067 <215.346>)
miŋi webori'ma beng ning
miŋi w- ebori'ma beng ning
Hes Sa- be.happy Neg Emph
Prtccl Vcl- Vintr Neg Prtccl

'HES, I am not rejoicing' (CB.Personal Narrative 068 <219.494>)

seyu kuru yuenuminggazak serō
zerō ya kuru u- enumingga -zak zerō
this Erg Emph 1- make.wonder -Perf S.I.
Pro P Prtccl Pers- Vtr -T/A2 Prtccl

'This is what is really making me wonder' (CB. Personal Narrative 069 <221.274>)

yaburōbōdi, ō'rō gaza ku ji go, nai pe?
y- aburō -bōdi ō'rō kaza kuru ji ko nai pe
3- praise -Iter what like Emph Emph Emph what like
Pers- Vtr -Asp WH P Prtccl Prtccl Prtccl N P

'In what way and how was she to be praised? (CB. Personal Narrative 070 <223.219>)

ō'rō be yeji yaburōbōdi
ō'rō pe y- eji y- aburō -bōdi
what like 3- be 3- praise -Iter
WH P Pers- Vintr Pers- Vtr -Asp

'Why is she being praised? (CB. Personal Narrative 071 <227.002>)

tugaik rō ning e'aik
t- ka -ze rō ning eji -aik
Adv- say -Prtcpl Emph Emph be -Pres
?- Vintr -Vder Prtccl Prtccl Vintr -T/A1

'This is how I am/Like that I am' (CB. Personal Narrative 072 <229.508>)

mōrōbang goro'tau imiëre uya yebozak
mōrōbang korō'tau i- mire ya y- eboro -zak
thereafter within 3- child Erg 1- find -Perf

'In the meantime her child found me' (CB. Personal Narrative 073 <230.988>)

mōrau kuru embai e'aik, miŋi
mōrau kuru ene -bai eji -aik miŋi
there Emph see -Desiđ be -Pres Hes
Adv Prtccl V -Vdrv Vintr -T/A1 Prtccl

autō ri'kwōrō mōrō
a- tō ri'kwō -rō mōrō

'I want to see you there, you should go' (CB. Personal Narrative 074)
ö'rō ku ji go
ö'rō kuru ji ko
what Emph Emph Emph
WH Prtccl Prtccl Prtccl

'What is it? (wondering) (CB. Personal Narrative 075 <235.394>)

tiuye'seng beng ning urō
t- yebi -zeng beng ning urō
Adv- come -Abs.Nzr Neg Emph 1Sg
?- Vint -Nzr Neg Prtccl Pro

'I do not customarily come' (CB. Personal Narrative 076 <236.539>)

miding yak rō ye'to'pe ji bennō
miding yak rō yebi -do'pe eji beng -nō
meeting into Emph come -Purp be Neg -Emph
N P Prtccl Vint -Vinfl Vintr Neg -Prtccl

'It cannot be even to a meeting' (CB. Personal Narrative 077 <239.560>)

e'tane kirörö kuru ji
e'tane kirō -rō kuru y- eji
however 3Sg.Anim -Emph Emph 3- be
PRTCL? Pro -Prtccl Prtccl Pers- Vintr

'However, it is really that one' (CB. Personal Narrative 078 <241.967>)

abine kuru tok kuru zaurogī
abine kuru tok kuru zaurogī
wait Emph 3P1 Emph talk
Vimp Prtccl Pro Prtccl Vintr

sedadai'ya dō, ö'rō warai kuru go
si- eda -da -ik ya tō ö'rō warai kuru ko
1A- hear -go -Intent Emph go what like Emph Emph
Pers- Vtr -Dir -Imper Prtccl Vintr WH P Prtccl Prtccl

'I have said let me go and hear what they have to say, what is it like'
CB. Personal Narrative 079 <243.926>)

ö'rō gaza kuru ji bōk yaburō
ö'rō kaza kuru y- eji pōk y- aburō
what like Emph 3- be about 3- praise
WH P Prtccl Pers- Vintr P Pers- Vtr

'ta dokya, nai be yeji ge aburō tok a
ta tok -ya nai pe y- eji ke aburō tok ya
say 3P1 -Erg what like 3- be Instr praise 3P1 Erg
Vtr Pro -Agr N P Pers- Vintr P Vtr Pro P

'I wonder why they say that she should be praise, what is she
doing to warrant praise' (CB. Personal Narrative 080 <247.394>)
mörö wiriyak sa'ne ji, e'tane ji mara rī'kwö rönamo
that because Emph Emph however Emph a.little.bit Dim uncertain

wagibe bra rō mang negamai
wagī pe bra rō mang n- egama -i
good like Neg Emph 3.be.Pres 3A3O- tell -RPst
N P Neg Prtcl Cop Pers- Vtr -T/A1

'I for that reason, however, she told I think a little bit of it' (CB. Personal Narrative 081 <251.337>)

iwanok pe e'tok peng nīgai
iwanok pe eji -dok beng n- ka -i
possession like be -Nzr Neg 3S- say -RPst
N P Vintr -Nzr Neg Pers- Vintr -T/A1

'I am not on my own she said' (CB. Personal Narrative 082 <257.769>)

nī'tunī be bra rō ji nīgai
n- i'tu -nī pe bra rō eji n- ka -i
O.Nzr- know -Pres.Nzr like Neg Emph be 3S- say -RPst
Nzr- Vtr -Nzr P Neg Prtcl Vintr Pers- Vintr -T/A1

'It is something that I do not even know, she said' (CB. Personal Narrative 083 <260.350>)

mörö rögeng eji mörö wagī be bra urō bona
that only be A.I.? good like Neg 1Sg onto
Dem Prtcl Vintr ? N P Neg Pro P

'That is the only thing that is not good to me' (CB. Personal Narrative 084 <262.176>)

iche e'tok bogeng bra rō sa'ne yeji
i- che eji -dok bogeng bra rō sa'ne y- eji
3- Desid be -Nzr like.manner Neg Emph Emph 3- be
Pers- P Vintr -Nzr N Neg Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vintr

'It is something that I do not really want' (CB. Personal Narrative 085 <264.696>)

ingge rī'kwö rō gio'mambe,
ingge rī'kwö rō i- ko'mamĩ pe
long.time Dim Emph 3- live like
Adv Adv? Prtcl Pers- Vintr P

tawong nō pize egamaningnō ning
tax -wong nō pize egama -ning -nō ning
say -Nzr/Rel? Emph this.Anim tell -A.Nzr -Emph Emph
Vtr -nzs Prtcl Pro Vtr -Nzr -PRTCL Prtcl

'I thought she was going to be here longer, She talks about this' (CB. Personal Narrative 086 <267.284>)
e'nonnga ri'kworo moro yeburudong ya
e'nonnga ri'kwö -rö morö y- eburu -dong ya
leave Dim -Emph that 1- boss -Pl Erg
Vintr Adv? -Prtcl Dem Pers- N -Nsfx P

rö yereudanigi a'tai e'nonnga tawong ning
rö y- ereuda -nigi a'tai e'nonnga ta -wong ning
Emph 1- sit -Caus when leave say -Nzr/Rel? Emph
Prtcl Pers- Vintr -VDer Conj? Vintr Vtr -nzr Prtcl

'She has said I will leave when my bosses stop me' (CB. Personal Narrative 087 <270.564>)

se au bra rö ning, ka'pong winö bra rö ning
zerö yau bra rö ning ka'pong winö bra rö ning
this in Neg Emph Emph person from Neg Emph Emph
Pro P Neg Prtcl Emph Perscl N P Neg Prtcl Prtcl

'Not in this way, in the way of the Akawaios' (CB. Personal Narrative 088 <274.930>)

chindöbai röning
chindöbai nöning
from.far.away only
Adv Prtcl

'from far away only' (CB. Personal Narrative 089 <278.015>)

moro bök ri'kwö röning sa'ne pu'pra e'pöö gorö'tau
moro pök ri'kwö nöning sa'ne pu'pra ejö -bööi korö'tau
that from Dim only Emph unaware be -Hab within

'and while I am oblivious to this because of that' (CB. Personal Narrative 090 <279.617>)

gia'nö'ping ni'kwö rö za'ne öni'ang ebozau'ya,
gia'nö -bing ri'kwö rö sa'ne önik -ang eborö -zak -au -ya
tasty -Priv Dim Emph Emph who -Pl find -Perf -2 -Erg
N -NDer Adv? Prtcl Prtcl WH -Num Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

ee'nonggazak wenai ning
a- e'nonnga -zak wenai ning
2- leave -Perf because Emph
Pers Vintr -T/A2 P Prtcl

'Who are the ones you got that are not good, because you have left' (CB. Personal Narrative 091 <282.922>)

zewanggama ning zerö dauya, ebori'ma benno ning
zewanggama ning serö ta -u -ya ebori'ma bang -nö ning
Detr- make.worry Emph S.I. say -1 -Erg be.happy Neg -Emph Emph
Intr Vtr Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr Vintr Neg -Prtcl Prtcl

'I am worrying I say and I am not rejoicing' (CB. Personal Narrative 092 <287.889>)
'I am happy for you but not because you have resigned/left, I am only showing sadness' (CB. Personal Narrative 093 <291.103>)

'On my side, maybe some people are happy' (CB. Personal Narrative 094 <296.141>)

'That is all' (CB. Personal Narrative 095 <300.456>)

14. R Personal Narrative

'Like what my relative said, I myself I am feeling sad' (R Personal Narrative 001 <0.000>)
rōning ja'ne nya gwaramibè i'tuwa dauwa
nōning sa'ne nya gwarami -be i'tu -u -wa ta -u -wa
only Emph 1+ cry -Attr know -1 -Erg say -1 -Erg
Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pro Vintr -Azr Vtr -Pers -Agr Vtr -Pers -Agr

'Like her child said, I thought a lot of us were going to cry, I knew this I say' (R Personal Narrative 002 <10.875>)

biambe rō pogoige
ibang -be rō pogo -ge
serious -Attr Emph sadness -Posd
N -Azr Prtcl N -Azr

turebiya gaza rōning edauya
u- reba -i -ya gaza nōning eda -u -ya
l- give -3 -Erg like only hear -1 -Erg
Pers Vtr -Pers -Agr P Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

I hear her as giving me only a serious sadness' (R Personal Narrative 003 <22.513>)

serō au go'mangza' mang 19 years e'to'poro
zerō yau go'mami -zak mang e'to'poro
this Loc live -Perf 3.be.Pres about
Pro P Vintr -T/A2 Cop Adv

'I have lived here for about nineteen years' (R Personal Narrative 004 <31.525>)

mōrō gorō'tau rō ji mainambazai'ya mang
mōrō gorō'tau rō ji mainamba -zak -i -ya mang
that within Emph Emph take.care.of -Perf -3 -Erg 3.be.Pres
Dem Adv Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Cop

'and she has taken care of me while within this time' (R Personal Narrative 005 <36.393>)

e'nek pra rō dīwa
e'nek bra rō ta -u -wa
sick Neg Emph say -1 -Erg
N Neg Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

'With no illness, I say' (R Personal Narrative 006 <39.597>)

mōrō bona engse'na dōdo'pe dugaik e'sak pra rō
mōrō bona ene -ze'na dō -do'pe tugaik eji -zak bra rō
that onto see -Purp go -Purp like be -Perf Neg Emph
Dem P V -VDer Vintr -Vinfl P Vintr -T/A2 Neg Prtcl

sa'ne ji e'nek ebosau'ya bra rō
sa'ne ji e'nek ebor -zak -u -ya bra rō
Emph Emph sick find -Perf -1 -Erg Neg Emph
Prtcl Prtcl N Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Neg Prtcl
'I have not been in a sick state that will cause me to go and see her. I have not have any illness. However (R Personal Narrative 007 <41.300>)

munggamök pògörö rì'kwòrò rögend biga'tòzai'ya
munggò amök bògörö rì'kwò -rò rögend biga'tò -zak -i -ya
children Pl after Dim -Emph only help -Perf -3 -Erg
Npsd Num P Adv?-Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

mang egebe kru rò dìwa, 19 years e'to'poro
mang ege -be kuru rò ta -u -wa e'to'poro
3.be.Pres big -Attr Empf Empf say -1 -Erg about
Cop N -Azr Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr Adv

'She has helped me with my children a lot for nineteen years' (R Personal Narrative 008 <47.148>)

biga'tòzai'ya
biga'tò -zak -i -ya
help -Perf -3 -Erg
Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'She has helped me' (R Personal Narrative 009 <51.795>)

e'nek pra rò sa'ne aìrò urò ewo'pì
e'nek bra rò sa'ne aìrò urò ewo'pì
sick Neg Empf Empf sympathy 1Sg mother.in.law
N Neg Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pro N

e'nek pra rò nya nya go'manggasai'ya dìwa
e'nek bra rò nya nya go'mamì -ga -zak -i -ya ta -u -wa
sick Neg Empf 1+3 1+3 live -Caus -Perf -3 -Erg say -1 -Erg
N Neg Prtcl Pr Pro Vintr -Vder -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Vtr -Pers -Agr

'without any illness just as how my mother-in-law told it' (R Personal Narrative 010 <52.576>)

' she has kept us without illness, I say' (R Personal Narrative 011 <56.822>)

nya engze'na tiudõzeng berò ji
nya ene -ze'na t- dò -zeng be -rò ji
1+3 see -Purp Adv- go -Abs.Nzr like -Emph Emph
Pro V -VDer ?- Vintr -Nzr P -Prtcl Prtcl

'She is one that really goes to visit us' (R Personal Narrative 012 <58.785>)
'I thought a lot of us would have been gathered here' (R Personal Narrative 013 <61.108>)

tu'ke rö sa'ne agarangse'na,
tu'ke rö sa'ne a- gwarami -ze'na
many Emph A- cry -Purp
Quant Prtcl Prtcl ??- Vintr -VDer

tu'kanggong sa'ne mire ank (amök) rö
tu'kang -gong sa'ne mire amök amök rö
several -Pl Emph child Pl Pl Emph
N -Nsfx Prtcl N Num Num Prtcl

'Many of us to cry, even the many children' (R Personal Narrative 014 <63.352>)

kamoro röning sa'ne karambase'na
kamoro röning sa'ne karamba -ze'na
3.Pl.Anim only Emph make.cry -Purp
Pro Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -VDer

'amrannózak tugaik ebogoiambödi ning dauwa
amrami -nno -zak tugaik ebogoma -bödi ning ta -u -wa
gather -1+2S -Perf like feel.sad -Iter Emph say -1 -Erg
Vintr -Pers -T/A2 P Vintr -Asp Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

'I became sad thinking that we are gathered here to only cry about those ones I say' (R Personal Narrative 015 <68.598>)

ane bra tiyano'pe ye'nonggasak peng
ane bra t- iwanok -be y- e'nongga -zak beng
wait.Imp Neg 3.Rfl- possession -Attr 3- leave -Perf Neg
Vintr.Imp Neg Pers- N -Azr Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Neg

genik tugaik chiya dio'kanígíuya
genik tugaik chiya i- do'kanígí -u -ya
specifically like far.away 3- understand -1 -Erg
Prtcl P Adv? Pers- Vtr -Pers -Agr

Now [without waiting], I understand further that she has not left on her own. (R Personal Narrative 016 <75.550>)

môrôwenai kuru ebogoiamaik
môrô wenai kuru ebogoima -aik
that because Emph feel.sad -Pres
Dem P Prtcl Vintr -T/A1

'That is really why I am getting sad' (R Personal Narrative 017 <83.038>)
'However, this is what I want to say' (R Personal Narrative 018 <87.597>)

abō'nogong
a- bōk -'nogong  
2- to -Pl  
Pers- P -Num

'To all of you' (R Personal Narrative 019 <91.350>)

ural sa'ne ji kirōro  go  
ural sa'ne ji kirō -rō ko  
1Sg Emph Emph 3Sg.Anim -Emph Emph  
Pro Prtcl Prtcl Pro -Prtcl Prtcl

ammo'timpanigong  gabai  e'aik  
a- mo'timba -nī -gong ga -bai eji -aik  
2- mock -Pres.Nzr -Pl.Psr say -Desid be -Pres  
Pers- Vtr -Nzr -Nsfx VINTR -Vdrv VINTR -T/A1

'I am the one you make fun of, I want to say' (R Personal Narrative 020 <92.344>)

ammo'timpanigong  tōbremaseng  
a- mo'tima -nī -gong t- ebrema -zeng  
2- mock -Nzr -Pl.Psr Adv- pray -Abs.Nzr  
Pers- Vtr -Nzr -Nsfx ?- VINTR -Nzr

(tebremazeng)  beng tugai tu'kang tu'kang yau rō sa'ne  
t- ebrema -zeng beng tugai tu'kang tu'kang yau rō sa'ne  
Adv- pray -Abs.Nzr Neg like several several in Emph Emph  
?- VINTR -Nzr Neg P N -NP Prtcl Prtcl

'the one you make fun of, as the one that do not pray and in many other things' (R Personal Narrative 021 <96.678>)

wagi genik  so'chi dau eji'ma,  e'nek au rō  
wagi genik  jo'chi tau eji -i'ma e'nek yau rō  
good specifically church within be -While sick in Emph  
N Prtcl N P VINTR -? N P Prtcl

tiwe'kingmaik  tugo'mangzanggong  genik  
t- e'kingma -ze t- go'mami -zang -gong genik  
Adv- hurt -Prtcpl Adv- live -Pl.Nzr -Pl specifically  
?- VINTR -Vder ?- VINTR -Nzr -Nsfx Prtcl
'Although you are in a good church, all of you seem to live while hurting, I want to say' (R Personal Narrative 022 100.916)

'You always thought that) you keep praying with (like) those who are attached to all your relatives.'  (R Personal Narrative 023 108.535)

'along with all the nurses'  (R Personal Narrative 024 115.137)

'I always praise you all thinking that you live good'  (R Personal Narrative 025 117.228)

'But now I am beginning to understand it and what I am understanding is not good'  (R Personal Narrative 026 121.226)
'It is not in the realm of [around] what I like' (R Personal Narrative 027 <127.543>)

amrami -nnō -zak an- ene -bai
gather -1+2S -Perf 3O.Desid - see -Desid
Vintr -Pers -T/A2 Pers- V -Vdrv

'I wanted to see a lot of us gathered here in a really big way' (R Personal Narrative 028 <129.458>)

oh! ewaik rō nīgainek kaza kuru
oh ewaik rō n- ga -i -nek gaza kuru
okay yes Emph 3S- say -RPst -Rel like Emph

'In the same way she has said oh yes' (R Personal Narrative 029 <132.830>)

tu'kanggong nō sa'ne engdunu'sai'ya tugaik
tu'kang -gong nō sa'ne engdunīgi -zak -i -ya tugaik
several -Pl Emph Emph deliver -Perf -3 -Erg like
N -Nsfx Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr P

aburōbōdiiuwa
aburō -bōdī -u -wa
praise -Hab -1 -Erg
Vtr -Asp -Pers -Agr

'I always praised her by saying she has always delivered so many' (R Personal Narrative 030 <136.127>)

tu'kanggong sa'ne, tu'kanggong kru rō
tu'kang -gong sa'ne tu'kang -gong kuru rō
several -Pl Emph several -Pl Emph Emph
N -Nsfx Prtcl N -Nsfx Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

'So many, so very many' (R Personal Narrative 031 <139.840>)

mōrabanggong ji winō wagirō mai
mōrabang -gong ji winō wagî -rō mai
thereafter -Pl.Abs Emph from good -Emph word
N -Nsfx Prtcl P N -Prtcl N
'So I thought I was coming to hear good words from someone like that' (R Personal Narrative 032 <142.757>)

e'tane biambé rò ebogoimaaik
e'tane ibang -be rò ebogoima -aik
but serious -Attr Emph feel.sad -Pres
PRTCL? N -Azr Prtcl Vintr -T/A1

'But I am now seriously sad' (R Personal Narrative 033 <148.252>)

ebori'ma urò rí'kwò negamainek kaza
ebori'ma urò rí'kwò n- egama -i -nek gaza
be.happy 1sg Dm 3A30- tell -RPst -Rel like
Vintr Pro Adv? Pers- Vtr -T/A1 -Rel P

ebori'ma bra rönig ja'ne ji
ebori'ma bra nönig sa'ne ji
be.happy Neg only Emph Emph
Vintr Neg Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

'Like what I already said, I am happy; I am only really not happy. R
(Personal Narrative 034 <150.088>)

serò be mang nòrs amòk tok ya yene bra
zerò be mang nòrs amòk tok ya y- ene bra
this like 3.be.Pres nurse Pl 3Pl Erg 10- see Neg
Pro P Cop N Num Pro P Pers- V Neg

'The nurses of today are not seeing me at all' (R Personal Narrative 035 <154.541>)

mìgì sa'ne e'nek pe bra rò e'tane tok a
mìgì sa'ne e'nek be bra rò e'tane tok ya
Hes Emph sick like Neg Emph although 3Pl Erg
Prtcl Prtcl N P Neg Prtcl PRTCL? Pro P

yene bra rò ji diwa
y- ene bra rò y- eji ta -u -wa
10- see Neg Emph 3- be say -1 -Erg
Pers- V Neg Prtcl Pers- Vintr Vtr -Pers -Agr

'Although I am not sick, I still say they are not visiting me I say' R
(Personal Narrative 036 <157.960>)

e'nek pra rò e'tane nòrs esh'pi mang
e'nek bra rò e'tane nòrs eji -'pi mang
sick Neg Emph although nurse be -Past 3.be.Pres
N Neg Prtcl PRTCL? N Vintr -T/A2 Cop

'While I did not have any illness, there was a nurse (R Personal Narrative 037 <163.353>)
'Who like to walk about' (R Personal Narrative 038 <165.531>)

ö'rō rōnamne iwaya
ö'rō rōnamo -ne iwa -i -ya
what uncrtn -Emph search -3 -Erg
WH Prtcl -Prtccl Vtr -Pers -Agr

'I do not know what she is looking for' (R Personal Narrative 039 <166.858>)

mīgī rōnamne, mak a'koza
mīgī rōnamo -ne mak a'koro -zak
Hes uncrtn -Emph fish.trap block -Perf
Prtccl Prtccl -Prtccl N Vtr -T/A2

rōnamne iwaya be ji
rōnamo -ne iwa -i -ya be y- eji
uncrtn -Emph search -3 -Erg like 3- be
Prtccl -Prtccl Vtr -Pers -Agr P Pers- Vintr

'Maybe she is looking to see if any fishes have been trapped' R Personal Narrative 040 <168.455>

e'tane mōrō e'pe bra rō kaza rō sa'ne ji tok eji
e'tane mōrō eji -be bra rō gaza rō sa'ne ji tok eji
but that be -Attr Neg Emph like Emph Emph Emph 3Pl be
PRTCL? Dem Vintr -Azr Neg Prtccl P Prtccl Prtccl Prtccl Pro Vintr

'But they are not like that' (R Personal Narrative 041 <172.086>)

e'tane wagī rō keṇīk a'ai eji'pī mōrāu,
e'tane wagī rō keṇīk a'ai eji -'pī mōrāu
however good Emph Purp mother be -Past there

'However, there was one mother who was good' (R Personal Narrative 042 <175.916>)

paba enau kuru genīk
paba enau kuru genīk
father in.hand Emph Mirative
N P Prtccl Prtccl

eji'nīnggenak rō keṇīk a'ai esh'pī mōrāu
eji'nīng -genak rō genīk a'ai eji -'pī mōrāu
love -one.who.has Emph Mirative mother be -Past there
N -Nzr Prtccl Prtccl VocN Vintr -T/A2 Adv

'There was a mother who was loving and in the hands of the 'great father' (R Personal Narrative 043 <180.718>)
tu'kang yau rō  nya biga'tōbōk
several in Emph 1+3 help -Prog
N  P  Prtcl  Pro  Vtr  -T/A2

igo'ma'pī  tugaik  nōgeng
i-  go'mamī  -'pī  t-  ga  -ze  rōgeng
3-  live  -Past Adv-  say  -Prtcpl  only
Pers-  Vintr  -T/A2  ?-  Vintr  -Vder  Prtcl

anaburobō'pai  rī'kwō  eji
an-  aburo  -bōdi  -bai  rī'kwō  eji
30.Desid-  praise  -Iter  -Desid  Dim  be
Pers-  Vtr  -Asp  -Vdrv  Adv?  Vintr

'and I want to praise her by saying that she has been here helping us in many different ways' (R Personal Narrative 044 <186.872>)

biambe  rō  zewanggama  gorotau
ibang  -be  rō  z-  ewanggama  koro'tau
serious  -Attr  Emph  Detr-  make.worry  among
N  -Azr  Prtcl  Intr-  Vtr  P

'While I am also seriously worrying' (R Personal Narrative 045 <192.796>)

biambe  ebogoimaaiak
ibang  -be  ebogoima  -aiak
serious  -Attr  feel.sad  -Pres
N  -Azr  Vintr  -T/A1

'I am feeling seriously sad' (R Personal Narrative 046 <194.934>)

R Personal Narrative 047 <197.142>
abine bra wagibe  rī'kwō  rōning  ja'ne  tiwanok
abine  bra  wagib  be  rī'kwō  nōning  sa'ne  t-  iwanok
wait  Neg  good  like  Dim  only  Emph  3.Rfl-  possession
Vimp  Neg  N  P  Adv?  Prtcl  Prtcl  Pers-  N

pe  ye'nonggasak  tugaik
be  y-  e'-  nongga  -zak  t-  ga  -ze
like  3-  Detr-  leave  -Perf  Adv-  say  -Prtcpl
P  Pers-  Intr-  Vtr  -T/A2  ?-  Vintr  -Vder

'Because I thought she was leaving in a good way'
'because' = 'saying'?

ye'nonggasak'  mang
y-  e'-  nongga  -zak  mang
3-  Detr-  leave  -Perf  3.be Pres
Pers-  Intr-  Vtr  -T/A2  Cop
'It was said that she had left' (R Personal Narrative 048 <202.565>)

tōwō ji ne'onggai no'sam'i'chi
  tōwō n- e'- nongga -i no'sam'i'chi
  let 3S- Detr- leave -Perm old
  Prtcl Pers- Intr- Vtr -T/A1 N

berō sak yenzak mō
  be -rō sa'ne y- ena -zak mō
  like -Emph Emph 3- become -Perf UncrtN
  P -Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vint -T/A2 Prtcl

'well let her leave, she may have become an old lady' (R Personal Narrative 049 <205.725>)

tugaik rōning sa'ji iyano'pe
  t- ga -ze nōning sa'ji iwanok -be
  Adv- say -Prtcpl only Emph possession -Attr
  ?- Vintr -Vder Prtcl Prtcl N -Azr

rōning giu'pōdī'piuwa
  nōning i- gubi -bōdī -'pī -u -wa
  only 3- do -Hab -Past -1 -Erg
  Prtcl Pers- Vtr -Asp -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'This is how I thought of it in my own way' (R Personal Narrative 050 <209.875>)

tiyan'epe rōning mīgī mīre amōk, ta
  t- iwanok -be nōning mīgī mīre amōk ta
  3.Rfl- own -Attr only Hes child Pl say
  Pers- N -Azr Prtcl Prtcl N Num Vtr

barō'manek ye'graduatemasak pe bona yeji'pī
  parō'ma -nek y- egraduatema -zak be bona y- eji -'pī
  according.to -Rel 3- graduate -Perf like into 3- be -Past
  Vintr -Rel Pers- Vintr -T/A2 P P Pers- Vint -T/A2

'According to the children, on her own I thought she was graduated'
(R Personal Narrative 051 <212.494>)

e'tane genik turonnō berō genik
  e'tane genik turonnō be -rō genik
  however specifically another like -Emph specifically
  PRTCL? Prtcl N P -Prtcl Prtcl
'However, not knowing that she had left through a different way' (R Personal Narrative 052 <216.885>)

'I praised her I am saying' (R Personal Narrative 053 <221.527>)

'I always praise you all by saying that you all seem to be living good together' (R Personal Narrative 055 <228.547>)

'Because [without waiting] I always see you walking your books properly' (R Personal Narrative 056 <232.167>)
se gaza kuru ta a'nogong
zerō gaza kuru ta a- ya -'nogong
this like Emph say 2- Erg -Pl
Pro P Prtcl Vtr Pers- P -Num

'this is the way' is what you say, it is like this, you say' (R Personal Narrative 056 <232.167>)

mōrō gaza bra ta a'nogong, tu'kang yau
mōrō gaza bra ta a- ya -'nogong tu'kang yau
that like Neg say 2- Erg -Pl several Loc
Dem P Neg Vtr Pers- P -Num N P

rō yemuba i'che öwejigong
rō y- enuba i- 'che a- w- eji -gong
Emph 10- teach 3- Desid 2- Sa- be -Pl.Abs
Prtc1 Pers- Vtr Pers- P Pers- Vcl- Vintr -Nsfx

'Not like that you all say, you want to teach me in so many things' (R Personal Narrative 058 <239.197>)

wagibe kuru ago'mamí tugaik
wagi be kuru a- go'mamí t- ga -ze
good like Emph 2- live Adv- say -Prtcpl
N P Prtc1 Pers- Vintr ?- Vintr -Vder

aaburōb'ninggong urō
a- aburō -bōdī -ning -gong urō
2- praise -Hab A.Nzr -Pl.Abs 1Sg
Pers- Vtr -Asp -Nzr -Nsfx Pro

'I like to praise you all by saying that you all live good' (R Personal Narrative 059 <243.138>)

tamboro ku sa'ne eegonegaza'kongbe
tamboro kuru sa'ne a- eegone -zak -gong -be
all Emph Emph 2- create -Perf -Pl.Abs -Attr
Adv Prtc1 Prtc1 Pers- Vtr -T/A2 -Nsfx -Azr

i'tubō'pōdiuya
i'tu -bōdī -bōdī -u -ya
know -Hab -Iter -1 -Erg
Vtr -Asp -Asp -Pers -Agr

'I thought I knew that all of you were prepared' (R Personal Narrative 060 <246.929>)

urō ji eji mōrō tigingnō rōning ja'ji pero be
urō ji eji mōrō tiginnō nōning sa'ne -ji pero be
1Sg Emph be that one only Emph -Emph dog like
Pro Prtc1 Vintr Dem Num Prtc1 Prtc1 -Prtc1 N P

'I am the only one who is the dog' (R Personal Narrative 061 <249.447>)
'eating the bad things' (R Personal Narrative 062 <251.710>)

e'tane serō dio'ka'nigiwa mang egamra
e'tane zerō i- do'ka'nigī -u -wa mang egamra
however this 3- understand -1 -Erg 3.be.Pres uncomfortable
PRTCL? Pro Pers- Vtr -Pers -Agr Cop Adv

rō biambe rō bogoimabōk tiwa mö
rō ibang -be rō pogoima -bōk ta -u -wa mōrō
Emph serious -Attr Emph make.sad -Prog say -1 -Erg A.I.? Prtcl N -Azr Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 Vtr -Pers -Agr ?

'However, I am now understanding this disturbing thing and it is making me seriously unhappy I say' (R Personal Narrative 063 <252.912>)

urō sa'ji zang be nígubini
urō sa'ji sang be n- gubī -nī
1Sg Emph mother like O.Nzr- do -Pres.Nzr
Pro Prtcl N P Nzr- Vtr -Nzr

'The one that I have made my mother' (R Personal Narrative 064 <258.460>)

wagībe ku imainambaning bennō urō
wagī be kuru i- mainamba -ning beng -nō urō
good like Emph 3- take.care.of -A.Nzr Neg -Emph 1Sg
N P Prtcl Pers- Vtr -Nzr Neg -Prtcl Pro

'I have not really taken care of her very well' (R Personal Narrative 065 <262.326>)

e'tane urō kuru mainangbabōk iko'mam'pī mang
e'tane urō kuru mainangba -bōk i- go'mamī -'pī mang
however 1Sg Emph look.after -Prog 3- live -Past 3.be.Pres
PRTCL? Pro Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 Pers- Vintr -T/A2 Cop

'However she has really been looking after me' (R Personal Narrative 066 <263.708>)

nōrs go'mang'pī mang biang
nōrs go'mamī -'pī mang i- be -ang
nurse live -Past 3.be.Pres 3- like -Nzr
N Vintr -T/A2 Cop Pers- P -Nzr
berō  umainangbabōk  tiwa
be  -rō  u-  mainangba  -bōk  ta  -u  -wa
like  -Emph  1-  look.after  -Prog  say  -1  -Erg
P  -Prtcl  Pers-  Vtr  -T/A2  Vtr  -Pers  -Agr

'nurse has lived while really taking care of me I say' (R Personal Narrative 067 <266.182>)

mōrōwenai  ja'ne  blambē  rō  ebogoimaaik
mōrō  wenai  sa'ne  ibang  -be  rō  ebogoima  -aik
that  because  Emph  serious  -Attr  Emph  feel.sad  -Pres
Dem  P  Prtcl  N  -Azr  Prtcl  Vintr  -T/A1

'That is why I am seriously sad' (R Personal Narrative 068 <269.236>)

irebadok  a  ige  bra  ye'tane
i-  reba  -dok  u-  ya  i-  ge  bra  y-  eji  -dane
3-  give  -Inst.Nzr  1-  Erg  3-  Instr  Neg  3-  be  -while
Pers-  Vtr  -Nzr  Pers-  P  Pers-  P  Neg  Pers-  Vintr  -T/A2?

'While I do not have anything to give her' (R Personal Narrative 069 <271.751>)

ō'rō  gaza  geng  sa'ne
ō'rō  gaza  geng  sa'ne
what  like  doubt  Emph
WH  P  Prtcl  Prtcl

'How can it be then? (R Personal Narrative 070 <273.582>)

e'tane  bra  rō
eji  -dane  bra  rō
be  -while  Neg  Emph
Vintr  -T/A2?  Neg  Prtcl

'While this is not so' (R Personal Narrative 071 <274.274>)

mīgadōuneek  kaza  rō  ja'ji
mī-  ga  -dōu  -nek  gaza  rō  sa'ne  -ji
2Sa-  say  -Pl.Past  -Rel  like  Emph  Emph  -Emph
Pers-  Vintr  -T/A1  -Rel  P  Prtcl  Prtcl  -Prtcl

paba  mang  urō'negong  zene  emabu'tō  be
paba  mang  urō  '-negong  z-  ene  emabu'tō  be
father  3.be.Pres  1Sg  -Pl  Detr-  see  cause  like
N  Cop  Pro  -Num  Intr-  V  Vtr  P

'like you all said this will cause the great father make us watch ourselves' (R Personal Narrative 072 <275.385>)

ji'ninggang  winō  nōgeng  tugaik
z-  i'ningga  -nnō  winō  rōgeng  t-  ga  -ze
Detr-  love  -1+2S  from  only  Adv-  say  -Prtcl
Intr-  Vtr  -Pers  P  Prtcl  ?-  Vintr  -Vder
'and this will come from only the way we love ourselves and this is how I would like to leave this' -- lit. 'I would like to leave like through only our loving.' (R Personal Narrative 073 <280.964>)

That is really all' (R Personal Narrative 074 <284.719>)
Part III. Tareng Chants

15. EW Tareng
15a. Toothache Tareng

ewai  urō     nok     ya
ewai  u-    rō     nok     ya
yes  1-  Emph grandmother Erg
Prtcl? Pers- Prtcl N P

ewai  serō ji  ayegam’pobai  eji  mīgī  wagīdong  rō
ewai  serō ji  a-  egamī’po  -bāi  eji  mīgī  wagī  -dong  rō
yes  this  Emph  2-  ask  -Desid be  Hes  good  -Pl  Emph
Prtcl? Pro  Prtcl  Pers- Vtr  -Vdrv  V  Prtcl  N  -Nsfx  Prtcl

zenubannōdok    pōk  mīgī  tareng
senuba  -nnō  -dok    pōk  mīgī  tareng
learn  -1+2S  -Inst.Nzr  about  Hes  ritual.blowing
Vintr  -Pers  -Nzr  P  Prtcl  N

tugaik  te’seng  bōk,  ane  English  pe  saurogiik.
tugaik  t-  eji  -seng  pōk  ane  English  pe  saurogi-ik
like  Adv-  be  -Abs.Nzr  about  wait.Imp  English  like  talk  -Med.Imp
P  ?-  V  -Nzr  P  Vintr.Imp  N  P  Vintr  -Imp

'Yes, I would like to ask you about the good things we can learn about the subject of tareng, but first let me say this in English' (EW Tareng 001)

tokenang  rō  egamauya  serō
tokeng  -ang  rō  egama  -u  -ya  serō
short  -Nzr  Emph  tell  -1  -Erg  S.I.
Adv  -Nzr  Prtcl  Vtr  -Pers  -Agr  Prtcl

'I will tell [you] a short one now' (EW Tareng 002)

tigingnannō  eji  mōrō  ōgiriwa  edaremu,
tigingnannō  eji  mōrō  ōgiriwa  edaremu
one.item  be  A.I.?  toothache  tareng.cure
N  V  ?  N  N

ōgiriwa  edaremu  da  mōrō
ōgiriwa  edaremu  ta  mōrō
toothache  tareng.cure  say  Fut
N  N  Vtr  Prtcl?

'There is one tareng cure for toothache, the one for toothache I will say' (EW Tareng 003)

akrarimō  ega'nonggazak  morok’kong  amok  a  da
ak’ra  -imō  ega’nongga  -zak  morok  -gong  amok  ya  ta
unripe  -Aug  harrass  -Perf  fish  -Pl  Pl  Erg  say
N  -NInfl  Vtr  -T/A2  N  -Nsfx  Num  P  Vtr

'The fishes have harassed the unripe/green one (speaker explains in the last clause) it name all the fishes there after' (EW Tareng 004)
The fishes have harassed the unripe one, the patwa fishes, the hourrie fishes, the yarrawu fishes, the catfishes, the snake fishes, the silver fishes, the large silver fishes, the sardine fishes... (EW Tareng 005)

'The unripe one has been harassed' (EW Tareng 006)

'You name all of the fishes' (EW Tareng 007)

'The fishes have harassed the unripe one' (EW Tareng 008)

'I am really finding it, it says' (EW Tareng 009)
'I am really cooling it down' (EW Tareng 010)

urō berō eji'ma da iya
u- rō be -rō eji -i'ma ta i- ya
1- Emph like -Emph be -While say 3- Erg
Pers- Prtcl P -Prtcl V -? Vtr Pers- P

'I am doing it while I am being myself, it says' (EW Tareng 011)

nīga'ang sa'ne bek urō dō sarorowa'kong
n- ka -ang sa'ne bek urō tō sarorowak -gong
3S- say -Pres Emph QP 1Sg go giant.otter -Pl
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl Pro Vintr N -Nsfx

'Am I really saying this otters (water-dogs)' (EW Tareng 012)

mōrō geng yu'madi, sarorowa'kong,
mōrō -rō keng y- u'madi sarorowak -gong
that -Emph doubt 3- finish giant.otter -Pl
Dem -Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vtr N -Nsfx

'That is all it is finished, water-dogs' (EW Tareng 013)

ōgorīwa edaremu mōrō
ōgorīwa edaremu mōrō
toothache tareng.cure that
N N Dem

'that was the healing chant for toothache' (EW Tareng 014)

ō'rō mōrō sarorowa'kong
ō'rō mōrō sarorowak -gong
what that giant.otter -Pl
WH Dem N -Nsfx

'what is sarorowa'kong? (EW Tareng 015)

saro bōk taiya mōrō, waterdog
saro pōk ta -l -ya mōrō waterdog
giant.otter about say -3 -Erg A.I.? giant.otter
N P Vtr -Pers -Agr ? N

'It refers to saro the waterdog' (EW Tareng 016)

waterdog eji tamborong bōk rō tenda'nazeng be
waterdog eji tamborong pōk rō t- enda'na -zeng pe
giant.otter be all WRT Emph Adv- eat -Abs.Nzr like
N V N P Prtcl ?- Vintr -Nzr P

'water dog is one who eats almost everything' (EW Tareng 017)
'His teeth are good although it is so' (EW Tareng 018)

mo bek kiroro saro yo enauya bra
moro bek kiroro -ro saro o ene -au -ya bra
that QP 3sg.Anim -Ephem giant.otter tooth see -2 -Erg Neg
Dem Prtcl Pro -Prtcl N N V -Pers -Agr Neg

ji wagib be, migi
y- eji wagib pe migi
3- be good like Hes
Pers- Vintr N P Prtcl

ori enauya bra ro ji
ori be ene -au -ya bra ro y- eji
bad -Attr see -2 -Erg Neg Emph 3- be
N -Azr V -Pers -Agr Neg Prtcl Pers- Vintr

'Do you not see the otter's teeth as being good, you never see
t hem bad' (EW Tareng 019)

wagib berob ido e'tope ji,
wagib pe -ro i- o eji -do'pe ji
ood like -Ephem 3- tooth be -Epistemic Emph
N P -Prtcl Pers- N V -Vinfl Prtcl

sarorowa'kong nigadai ne tok ko
sarorowak -gong n- ka -dai ne tok ko
giant.otter -pl 3s- say -Past particularly 3pl Emph
N -Nsfx Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Pro Prtcl

In order for his teeth to be good, that otter, so they said. (EW Tareng 020)

15b. Gingivitis Tareng

moro gaza roma oyomaik edaremu eji moro,
moro kaza roma oyomaik edaremu eji moro
that like also gingivitis tareng.cure be A.I.?
Dem P ? N N V ?

e'tane turonnob be ganang idozak
e'tane turonnob pe kanang i- to -zak
but another like again 3- go -Perf
mabarualu ning ji eza'podiiya mörö
mabarualu ning ji ezag -bödï -i -ya mörö
otter Bmph Emph name -İter -3 -Erg A.I.? 
N Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -Asp -Pers -Agr ?

'That is also how the cure for gingivitis is said, but it goes differently again. It frequently calls the name of the waterdog' (EW Tareng 021)

e'tane se ganang turonnö segama'ai'nek
e'tane se kanang turonnö s- egama -aik -nek
but this again another 1A- tell -Pres -Rel

But this other one again that I am relating now' (EW Tareng 022)

ö'rö mörö öyömaik
ö'rö mörö öyömaik
what that gingivitis
WH Dem N

'what is that 'öyömaik'?' (EW Tareng 023)

öyömaik mörö ö'rörö namo
öyömaik mörö ö'rö -rö namo
gingivitis that what -Emph Uncrtnty
N Dem WH -Prtcl Prtcl

'Gingivitis is I am really not sure' (EW Tareng 024)

öyömaik eji mörö ming, ming eba'ka migi öyö ai
öyömaik eji mörö ming ming eba'ka migi a- ö yai
gingivitis be A.I.? blood blood come.out Hes 2- tooth through
N V ? N N Vintr Prtcl Pers- N P

'Gingivitis is when blood comes out through your teeth' (EW Tareng 025)

migi dawong idedaremu eji mörö,
migi ta -wong i- edaremu eji mörö
this say -Nzr/Rel? 3- tareng.cure be A.I.?
Pro Vtr -nzr Pers- N V ?

uri'chang bök ji a'tai
uri'chang pök y- eji a'tai
female WRT 3- be when
N P Pers- Vintr Conj?

'This is what it's curing chant says if a woman is suffering from (EW Tareng 026)

waibarimö ama'nomi ega'nonggazak
waiba -imö ama'nomi ega'nongga -zak
house -Aug beautiful harrass -Perf
N -NInfl N Vtr -T/A2
moro'kong a daiya
morok -gong ya ta -i -ya
fish -Pl Erg say -3 -Erg
N -Nsfx P Vtr -Pers -Agr

'The beautiful one from the giant house (WAIBA) has been harassed by the fishes, so it says' (EW Tareng 027)

nejiinek kaza rô ganang
n- eji -i -nek kaza rô kanang
3S- be -RPst -Rel like Emph again
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 -Rel P Prtc1 Adv?

ezagiliya mörö,
ezagl -i -ya mörö
name -3 -Erg Fut
Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtc1?

'Like it was before again, it will name it again' (EW Tareng 028)

moro'kong amök a, korwa'kong amök a,
morok -gong amök ya korwak -gong amök ya
fish -Pl Pl Erg patwa.fish -Pl Pl Erg
N -Nsfx Num P N -Nsfx Num P

waral'kong amök a
warak -gong amök ya
yarrau.fish -Pl Pl Erg
N -Nsfx Num P

'All the fishes, the patwas, the yarraus, (EW Tareng 029)

waibarimö ama'nomii ega'nonggazak
waiba -imö ama'nomi -i ega'nongga -zak
house -Aug beautiful -Psd harrass -Perf
N -NInfl N -NInfl Vtr -T/A2

re'kogong amök a, agaruwagong
re'kô -gong amök ya agaruwa -gong
catfish -tribe Pl Erg large.silver.fish -tribe
N -Nsfx Num P N -Nsfx

amök a, eugong amök a
amök ya eu -gong amök ya
Pl Erg sardine.fish -tribe Pl Erg
Num P N -Nsfx Num P

'The beautiful one from the big house has been harassed by the cat fishes, the large silverfishes, the sardine fishes.' (EW Tareng 029)

waibarimö ama'nomii ega'nonggazak
waiba -imö ama'nomi -i ega'nongga -zak
house -Aug beautiful -Psd harass -Perf
N -NInfl N -NInfl Vtr -T/A2

'The beautiful one from the big house has been harassed' (EW Tareng 031)
eborobök sa'ne e'ak ko daiya
find -Prog Emph be -Pres Emph say -3 -Erg
Vtr -T/A2 Prtcl V -T/A1 Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

idōburi bona
i- töbu -ri pona
3- core -Psd into
Pers- N -Ninfl P

'I am finding it, it says to it's foundation/core (EW Tareng 032)

waibarimö ama'nomi sa'ne ega'ngogga
waiba -ámö ama'nomi -i sa'ne ega'ngogga
house -Aug beautiful -Psd Emph harrass
N -Ninfl N -Ninfl Prtcl Vtr

berō daiya
pe -rō ta -i -ya
like -Emph say -3 -Erg
P -Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

While the beautiful one from the big house is being harassed, it says' (EW Tareng 033)

nīga'ang sa'ne urō go daiya
n- ka -ang za'ne u- rō ko ta -i -ya
3S- say -Pres exactly 1- Emph Emph say -3 -Erg
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Pers- Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

'Am I really saying this, it says' (EW Tareng 034)

tigingjarong ama'nomi
tigingjarō-ng ama'nomi
alone -Nzr beautiful
Adv -Nzr N

'The only one that is beautiful' (EW Tareng 035)

mabarua bōk ning ji taya mōrō
mabarua pōk ning ji ta -i -ya mōrō
otter WRT Emph Emph say -3 -Erg A.I.?
N P Prtcl Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr ?

'It refers to the otter/waterdog' (EW Tareng 036)

mōrō gaza rō ganang pandong be ganang ji
mōrō kaza rō kanang pandong pe kanang y- eji
that like Emph again story like again 3- be

egamazai'ya eshpī mōrō, pandong be
egama -zak -i -ya eji -'pī mōrō pandong pe
tell -Perf -3 -Erg be -Past A.I.? story like
Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr V -T/A2 ? N P
gaza ji
kaza y- eji
like 3- be
P  Pers- Vintr

'That is how it is interpreting it again in story form, that is how it
was told like a story' (EW Tareng 037)

mōrō emboigaya    sa'ne ji   pandong be    gaza
mōrō emboiga -i  -ya sa'ne ji   pandong pe    kaza
that show   -3   -Erg Emph   Emph   story   like   like
Dem  Vtr    -Pers    -Agr  Prtcl  Prtcl  N    P    P

'It really interprets it like a story' (EW Tareng 038)

morok amōk eboro'pi,  kirōrō    morok amōk
morok amōk eboro -'pi kirō  -rō  morok amōk
fish  Pl  find -Past 3Sg.Anim -Emph  fish  Pl
N  Num  Vtr    -T/A2  Pro    -Prtcl  N    Num

achi'pi         mabaruwa  a
achi -pi         mabaruwa  ya
hold -Past  otter  Erg
Vtr    -T/A2  N  Agr

'The otter found some fishes, he caught them' (EW Tareng 039)

mōrōbanggong   ji   arō'piya
mōrōbang   -gong   ji  arō  -'pi  -i  -ya
thereafter  -Pl.AbEmph  carry -Past  -3  -Erg
N  -Nsfx  Prtcl  Vtr    -T/A2  -Pers    -Agr

mōrō  i'nō'panggaik  kaza mīgī  bona  tôk
mōrō  i'nō'pamī  -ga  -ik  kaza mīgī  pona  tôk
A.I.?  cool.down  -Caus  -Purp  like  this  unto  rock
?  Vintr    -Vder  -Vder  P  Pro  P  N

pona,  idōburimō  bona  nīgā'ai'nek
pona  i- tôbu  -imō  pona  n-  ka  -aik  -nek
unto  3-  core  -Aug  unto  3S-  say  -Pres  -Rel
P  Pers-  N  -Ninf1  P  Pers- Vintr  -T/A1  -Rel

Then he took them to cool them down unto a rock, this is why it is
saying idōburimō bona. (EW Tareng 040)

eborobök  sa'ne  e'aik  idōburimō  tôk  pona
eboro  -bök  sa'ne  eji  -aik  i- tôbu  -imō  tôk  pona
find -Prog Emph  be  -Pres  3  core  -Aug  rock  unto
Vtr    -T/A2  Prtcl  V    -T/A1  Pers-  N    -Ninf1  N    P

tok  e'ma'tō'pīiya,  mōrōbanggong
tok  e'ma'tō  -'pī  -i  -ya  mōrōbang  -gong
3Pl fetch -Past  -3  -Erg  thereafter  -Pl.Abs
Pro  Vtr    -T/A2  -Pers  -Agr  N    -Nsfx
'I am finding it after taking them to the huge rock. (EW Tareng 041)'

mörau rō ji tok finishma'piya
mörau rō ji tok finishma '-pi' -i -ya
there Emph Emph 3Pl finish -Past -3 -Erg
Adv Prtcl Prtcl Pro Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

'There he finished them' (EW Tareng 042)

mörö i'no'pangga'piya rō mörau rō
mörö -rō i'no'pam I -gabi -'pi' -i -ya rō mörau rō
that -Emph cool.down -Cmpltv -Past -3 -Erg Emph there Emph
Dem -Prtcl Vintr -Asp -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcl Adv Prtcl

'He cooled that right there' (EW Tareng 043)

möröbang bök chi yenda'na'pi mörö mörau rō
möröbang pök ji y- enda'na '-pi' mörö mörau rō
thereafter WRT Emph 3- eat -Past A.I.? there Emph
N -P Prtcl Pers- Vintr -T/A2 -? Adv Prtcl

'Then he really ate it over there' (EW Tareng 044)

mörō ji mabarua ji eza'pödibök na'nek,
mörō eji mabarua ji ezagi -bōdī -bök nai -nek
that be otter Emph name -Hab -Prog 3.be.Pres -Rel
Dem V N Prtcl Vtr -Asp -T/A2 Vintr -Rel

nūga'ang za'ne bek urō go tigingjarong
n- ka -ang sa'ne bek urō ko tigingjarō -ng
3S- say -Pres Emph QP 1Sg Emph alone -Nzr
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl Pro Prtcl Adv -Nzr

ama'nomi daiya
ama'nomi -i ta -i -ya
beautiful -Psd say -3 -Erg
N -Ninf Vtr -Pers -Agr

'That is why it is naming the waterdog when it says, 'am I saying this, the only one who is beautiful 'that is what it says' (EW Tareng 045)

idezek au ezagauya bogeng braiiji
i- ezek yau ezagi -au -ya bogeng bra y- eji
3- name Loc name -2 -Erg like.manner Neg 3- be
Pers- N P Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl Neg Pers- V
'you cannot call anything by it's real name when you are doing a tareng chant' (EW Tareng 046)

ō'rō wenai guabō'aik
ō'rō wenai u- ka -bōdī -aik
what for 1- say -Iter -Pres
WH P Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1

'why I always say? (EW Tareng 047)

biogeng bra rō ji
i- bogeng bra rō y- eji
3- right Neg Emph 3- be
Pers- N Neg Prtcl Pers- Vintr

nigabō'angne tok ko
n- ka -bōdī -ang -ne tok ko
3S- say -Iter -Pres -Emph 3Pl Emph
Pers- Vintr -Asp -T/A1 -Prtcl Pro Prtcl

'It is not right they always say' (EW Tareng 048)

mörō gaza ji mörō
mörō kaza y- eji mörō
that like 3- be A.I.? DeM P Pers- Vintr ?

That is what it is like' (EW Tareng 049)

tigingjarong ama'numii taiya
tigingjarō -ng ama'nomī -i ta -i -ya
alone -Nzr beautiful -Psd say -3 -Erg
Adv -Nzr N -Ninfl Vtr -Pers -Agr

kīrōrō a
kīrō -rō ya
3Sg.Anim -Emph Erg
Pro -Prtcl P

'The only beautiful one it says, he says' (EW Tareng 050)

15c. Malaria Tareng

turonnō amnedabai me'ang
turonnō an- eda -bai mī- eji -ang
another Desid- hear -Desid 2Sa- be -Pres
N ?- Vtr -Vdrv Pers- V -T/A1

'Do you want to hear another one? (EW Tareng 051)
ewaik
ewaik
yes
Prtcl?

Interviewer answers yes! (EW Tareng 052)

wan mor rô
wan mor rô
one more Emph
Num Quant Prtcl

'maybe one more' (EW Tareng 053)

twu mor ro
twu mor ro
two more Emph
Num Quant Prtcl
'maybe two more' (EW Tareng 054)

migi migi ganang niki
migi migi kanang niki
Hes this again change.of.topic
Prtcl Pro Adv? Prtcl

'This is one again' (EW Tareng 055)

urô rui negama'pi zerô,
urô rui n- egama -'pi serô
1SG eldest.brother O.Nzr- tell -Past this
Pro N Nzr- Vtr - T/A2 Pro

conferse negamapi
conferse n- egama -'pi
conferse o.Nzr- tell - Past
conferse Nzr- Vtr - T/A2

'My elder brother told me this one, the one Conferse told me' (EW Tareng 056)

xe'neke ejei malaria bôk rô ejei
e'neke a- eji malaria pôk rô a- eji
sick like 2- be malaria WRT Emph 2- be
N P Pers- Vintr N P Prtcl Pers- Vintr

'when you really sick with malaria or so' (EW Tareng 057)

malaria bôk rô ejei mörøbang
malaria pôk rô a- eji mörøbang
malaria WRT Emph 2- be thereafter
N P Prtcl Pers- Vintr N
when you are having malaria or so and cannot stand up or when it becomes serious' (EW Tareng 058)

'My daddy said it is the healing chant for malaria, so he said (EW Tareng 059)

'It maybe the healing chant for serious fever, when you are able to stand up, when you seriously are unable to stand up' (EW Tareng 060)

'It is the cure for that, so he said' (EW Tareng 061)
'HES. this is what it says, so he say' (EW Tareng 062)

'The giant grasshopper has been harassed by the grasshoppers, it says. (speaker repeat) the giant grass have been harassed by the grasshoppers' (EW Tareng 063)

'By the locusts' (EW Tareng 064)

'I am cooling it now, it says' (EW Tareng 065)

'I am really finding it, it says, while I am being myself' (EW Tareng 066)
'When it is done to a girl or a child the ritual name for girl manjik will be used' (EW Tareng 067)

'manjik mörö gaza rö sa‘ne mígí rö
manjik mörö kaza rö sa‘ne mígí rö
girl that like Emph Emph this Emph
N Dem P Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pro Prtcl

ti’tuik pra rö mígí eji ege bök tauya a'tai
t- i’tu -ze bra rö mígí eji ege bök ta -au -ya a’tai
Adv know -Prtcpl Neg Emph this be big about say -2 -Erg if
?- Vtr -Vder Neg Prtcl Pro V N P Vtr -Pers -Agr Conj?

'you call it manjik like that or not knowingly, if you are saying this about the 'big one' (EW Tareng 068)

'About the giant grass's beauty (EW Tareng 069)

'When I say this about a man, I would say 'the handsome giant grass, it is just like that' (EW Tareng 070)

'I am cooling it, it says' (EW Tareng 071)
niga'ang za'ne bek urō dō daiya
n- ka -ang sa'ne bek urō dō ta -i -ya
3S- say -Pres Emph QP 1Sg Emph say -3 -Erg
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl Pro Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

'Am I saying this, it says' (EW Tareng 072)

mōrō migī ji yu'madī winōgiik chi,
mōrō migī ji y- u'madī winōgiik ji
that Hes Emph 3- finish towards Emph
Dem Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vtr P Prtcl
nigaang za'ne bek urō dō
n- ka -ang sa'ne bek urō dō
3S- say -Pres Emph QP 1Sg Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl Pro Prtcl

'Then towards the finishing of the chant it says, am I really saying it' (EW Tareng 073)

chiwow chiwowgong, niga'adai ne go
chiwow chiwow -gong n- ka -dai ne ko
long.hair long.hair -tribe 3S- say -Past particularly Emph
SW SW -Nsfx Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl

'The ripply ripply ones, so he said' (EW Tareng 074)

tuna bōk taiya, chiwow chiwow taiya tuna bōk
tuna pōk ta -i -ya chiwow chiwow ta -i -ya tuna pōk
water WRT say -3 -Erg long.hair long.hair say -3 -Erg water WRT
N P Vtr -Pers -Agr SW SW Vtr -Pers -Agr N P

'It refers to the water, it says chiwowchiwow about the water' (EW Tareng 075)

ane ji stori be ganang egamado'peuya
ane ji stori pe kanang egama -do'pe -u -ya
wait.Imp Emph story like again tell -Deontic -1 -Erg

egamagi'uyu ganang mōrō ganang,
egama -gabi -u -ya kanang mōrō kanang
tell -Cmpltv -1 -Erg again Fut again

mōrō tareng ganang egamagi'uyu
mōrō tareng kanang egama -gabi -u -ya
that ritual.blowing again tell -Cmpltv -1 -Erg
Dem N Adv? Vtr -Asp -Pers -Agr

'Wait let me tell it again, I will tell the tareng again, I will tell it again' (EW Tareng 076)

wanaburimō ega'nonngazak kidadagong
wanabu -imō ega'nonngga -zak kidada -gong
grass -Aug harrass -Perf grasshopper -tribe
N -NInfl Vtr -T/A2 N -Nsfx
'The giant grass has been harassed by the grasshoppers, by the locusts' (EW Tareng 077)

'möröbang za'ne eborobök  e'aik ko daiya
möröbang sa'ne eboro -bök eji-aik ko ta -i -ya
thereafter Emph find -Prog be -Pres Emph say -3 -Erg
N Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 V -T/A1 Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

'And I am really finding it, it says' (EW Tareng 079)

'i'nö'panggabök za'ne e'aik ko daiya
i'nö'pamí -ga -bök sa'ne eji-aik ko ta -i -ya
cool.down -Caus -Prog Emph be -Pres Emph say -3 -Erg
Vintr -Vder -T/A2 Prtcl V -T/A1 Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

'I am cooling it. It says' (EW Tareng 080)

'urö berö  eji'ma
urö pe -rõ  eji -i'ma
1Sg like -Emph be -While
Pro P -Prtcl V -?

'While I am myself' (EW Tareng 081)

'nigaang za'ne bek urö dó, daiya ji
n- ka -ang sa'ne bek urö dó ta -i -ya ji
3S- say -Pres Emph QP 1Sg Emph say -3 -Erg Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl Pro Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl

'mörö, chiwow  chiwowgong
mörö chiwow chiwow -gong
A.I.? long.hair long.hair -tribe
? SW SW -Nsfx

'Am I saying this, it is really saying, the ripply ripply ones'

i'nairö ji'pí nígadai ne go
i'nairö eji -'pí n- ka -dai ne ko
true be -Past 3S- say -Past particularly Emph
N V -T/A2 Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl

'It was really true, so he said' (EW Tareng 083)

'mörö ji  eshi'pí ganang ji
mörö ji eji -'pí kanang ji
that Emph be -Past again Emph
Dem Prtcl V -T/A2 Adv? Prtcl

'Then it was again' EW (Tareng 084)
'You know how the grass is around here the grass' (EW Tareng 085)

möröbang bök kidada amôk eji a’taï
möröbang pök kidada amôk eji a’taï
thereafter WRT grasshopper Pl be if
N P N Num V Conj?

ibîrarô tok a iwônô mörö
ibira -rô tok ya i- wônô mörö
sick -Emph 3Pl Erg 3- kill A.I.?
Adv -Prtcl Pro P Pers- Vtr ?

'If the grasshoppers are attached to the grass, it will seriously damage it because they will kill it' (EW Tareng 086)

migî rô taibidani' se rô tok a iwônô
migî rô t- aibida -migî -ze rô tok ya i- wônô
this Emph Adv- wither -Caus -Prtcpl Emph 3Pl Erg 3- kill
Pro Prtcpl ?- Vintr -VDer -Vder Prtcpl Pro P Pers- Vtr

'They will kill it by withering it' (EW Tareng 087)

möröbang pada'pî au ning ji
möröbang pada -'pî yau ning ji
thereafter place -Past Loc Emph Emph
N N -T/A2 P Prtcpl Prtcpl

ebor'pîya mörö, eboroya
eboro -'pî -i -ya mörö eboro -i -ya
find -Past -3 -Erg Fut find -3 -Erg
Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Prtcpl? Vtr -Pers -Agr

ji tuna ji yebî ya ji eboro mörö
ji tuna ji yebî ya ji eboro mörö
Emph water Emph come Erg Emph find Fut
Prtcl N Prtcpl Vint P Prtcpl Vtr Prtcpl?

'Then in place of the weathering, it will find it, the rain that comes (EW Tareng 088)

möröbang ji i'nô'panggaiya ji
möröbang ji i'nô'pamî -ga -i -ya ji
thereafter Emph cool.down -Caus -3 -Erg Emph
N Prtcpl Vintr -VDer -Pers -Agr Prtcpl

'Then this will really cool it down' (EW Tareng 089)
möröbang ji to'panigiya
möröbang ji to'pa -nigî -i -ya na'nek chi
thereafter Emph get.well -Caus -3 -Erg nai -nek ji
N Prtcl Vintr -VDer -Pers -Agr 3.be.Pres -Rel Emph
Vintr -Rel Prtcl

'Then it will really revive it' (EW Tareng 090)

möröbang ganang ji e'mîza'ka mörö, wanak kanang e'mîza'ka
möröbang kanang ji e'mîza'ka mörö wanak kanang e'mîza'ka
thereafter again Emph stand.up Fut grass again stand.up

'Then it will stand up again, the grass will again stand up (EW Tareng 091)

ibirarö ima'taza'ri'pî rö
ibirarö -rö i- ma'ta -zak -rî'pî rö
sick -Emph 3- die -Perf -Past.Psn Emph
Adv -Prtcl Pers- Vintr -T/A2 -NTns Prtcl

ji e'mîza'ka ganang mörö
ji e'mîza'ka kanang mörö
Emph stand.up again Fut
Prtcl Vintr Adv? Prtcl?

'The one that had really died will stand up again' (EW Tareng 092)

chiwow chiwowgong
chiwow chiwow -gong
long.hair long.hair -tribe
SW SW -Nsfx

'The ripply ripply water' (EW Tareng 093)

mörö na'nek kaza ji mörö, mörö rö geng
mörö nai -nek kaza y- eji mörö mörö rö keng
that 3.be.Pres -Rel like 3- be A.I.? that Emph doubt
Dem Vintr -Rel P Pers- Vintr ? Dem Prtcl Prtcl

'That is how it is, that is all' (EW Tareng 094)

15d. Haemorrhage Tareng

pegai pe bek e'nödok ebik
pegai pe bek eji -nö -dok ebik
bald like QP be -Inf -Fut medicine
N P Prtcl V -Vinf1 -T/A2 N

i'tuning bennö amö
i'tu -ning beng -nö amö
know -A.Nzr Neg -Emph 2SgQ
Vtr -Nzr Neg -Prtcl Pro?

'Do you not know the cure for baldness' (EW Tareng 095)
i'tuning beng urö, mama elwiz piyau rö
i'tu -ning beng urö mama elwiz piyau rö
know -A.Nzr Neg 1Sg Mama Eloise near.to Emph
Vtr -Nzr Neg Pro N N N P Prtcl

geng ji nigadai ne bofi go
keng y- eji n- ka -dai ne bofi ko
doubt 3- be 3S- say -Past particularly Bofi Emph
Prtcl Pers- Vintr Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl N Prtcl

'I do not know it, it is only with mama Eloise, so Bofi said. (EW Tareng 096)

mörö ji pegai'pe e'nödok
mörö ji pegai -be eji -nö -dok
that Emph bald -Attr be -Inf -Put
Dem Prtcl N -Azr V -Vinfl -T/A2

'The one that would be for baldness' (EW Tareng 097)

mama elwiz meboroik
mama elwiz mi- eboro -ik
Mama Eloise 2A- find -Med.Imp
N N Pers- Vtr -Imper

'you must find mama Eloise' (EW Tareng 098)

ane ida'körö zauro'to'pe, ane
ane i- a'körö saurogl -do'pe ane
wait.Imp 3- Instr talk -Put wait.Imp
Vintr.Imp Pers- P Vintr -Vinfl Vintr.Imp

ji turonnörö annegamak
ji turonnö -rö an- egama -gö
Emph another -Emph 3O.Imp- tell -Imper
Prtcl N -Prtcl Pers- Vtr -T/A

'Well I will talk with her, tell me another one' (EW Tareng 099)

ô'rö dawong geng
ô'rö ta -wong keng
what say -Nzr/Rel? doubt
WH Vtr -nzw Prtcl

'Which one then? (EW Tareng 100)

kwazuk ebik pra bek nai
kwazuk ebik bra bek nai
diarrhoea medicine Neg QP 3.be.Pres
N N Neg Prtcl Vintr

'Do you have a cure for diarrhoea' (EW Tareng 101)
'Not diarrhoea but only (hesitation) (EW Tareng 102)

mög bök serumangâdok rögen edaremu i'tuuya
mög pök seruma -nô -dok rögen edaremu i'tu -u -ya
blood NRT abstain -inf -Nsr only tareng.cure know -1 -Erg
N P Vintr -Vinfl -Nsr Prtcl N Vtr -Pers -Agr

'I only know the tareng for being on restrictions during
haemorrhage' (EW Tareng 103)

özêruma a'tai, zërumannôzak a'tai,
a- seruma a'tai seruma -nnô -zak a'tai
2- abstain if abstain -1+2S -Perf if
Pers- Vintr Conj? Vintr -Pers -T/A2 Conj?

mögô tânzeng beng, warak tânzeng
mögô t- anô -zeng beng warak t- anô -zeng
Dem ?- Vtr -Nsr Neg N ?- Vtr -Nsr

beng, tawonggong kamoro go
beng tawong -gong kamoro ko
Neg saying -Pl 3.Pl.Anim Emph
Neg N -Nstx Pro Prtcl

'If you are on restrictions, during restrictions, you should not eat
that, the yarau fish should not be eaten; so they really say' (EW
Tareng 104)

mögô na'mi'no bök kanang
mögô namaik -no pök kanang
that prevent.Purp -Nsr occupied.with again
Dem Adv -Nsr P Adv?

t'e'seng kamoro go
t- eji -zeng kamoro ko
?- V -Nsr Pro Prtcl

'It is again against that they have to be' (EW Tareng 105)

mögôrbô edaremu ganang i'tuning urô
mögô -rbô edaremu kanang i'tu -ning urô
that -type tareng.cure again know -A.Nsr 1Sg

'I know the tareng cure like that one' (EW Tareng 106)

waibərimô yenda'na bra sa'ne ji ji
waiba -imô y- enda'na bra sa'ne ji y- eji
house -Aug 3- eat Neg Emph Emph 3- be
N -NInf Pers- Vintr Neg Prtcl Prtcl Pers- Vintr
'the giant house, because he/she is not really really eating' (EW Tareng 107)

wa'barimò ama'nomirìi
waiba -imô ama'nomî -ri -i
house -Aug beautiful -Psd -Psd
N -NInfl N -NInfl -NInfl

indababaik e'aik ko taiya
indaba -baik eji -aik ko ta -i -ya
give.appetite -Intent be -Pres Emph say -3 -Erg
Vtr -T/A2? V -T/A1 Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

'I am really giving appetite to the beauty of the giant house it says'
(EW Tareng 108)

morô'kong bona taiya morok amôk
morok -gong pona ta -i -ya morok amôk
fish -tribe onto say -3 -Erg fish Pl
N -Nsfx P Vtr -Pers -Agr N Num

kanang za'ne kanang eza'pôdiyìa
kanang sa'ne kanang ezagî -bôî -i -ya
again Emph again name -Iter -3 -Erg

'This is on the fishes, you see it will again call the fishes frequently' (EW Tareng 109)

tamboro morô'kong bona, wara'kong
tamboro morok -gong pona warak -gong
all fish -tribe onto yarrau.fish -tribe
Adv N -Nsfx P N -Nsfx

bona, tamboro tok eza'pôdiyìa
pona tamboro tok ezagî -bôî -i -ya
onto all 3Pl name -Iter -3 -Erg
P Adv Pro Vtr -Asp -Pers -Agr

'On all the fishes, on the yarrau fishes, all their names would be called' (EW Tareng 110)

korwa'kong bona, re'kôgong bona,
korwak -gong pona re'kô -gong pona
patwa.fish -tribe onto catfish -tribe onto
N -Nsfx P N -Nsfx P

karoi'kong bona, urigong bona
karoi -gong pona uri -gong pona
snake.fish -tribe onto hourrie.fish -tribe onto
N -Nsfx P N -Nsfx P

'On the patwa fishes, on the catfishes, on the logo-logo fishes and on the hourrie fishes' (EW Tareng 111)
'The beauty of the big house would be given appetite by me (EW Tareng 112)

a'munagabök sa'ne e'ai k ko taiya
a'munaga -bök sa'ne eji aik ko ta -i -ya
dry -Prog Emph be -Pres Emph say -3 -Erg
Vtr -T/A2 Prtcl V -T/A1 Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

'I am really drying her up ,it said' (EW Tareng 113)

imini'pani abai taiya
imini'pani abai ta -i -ya
bloodiness from say -3 -Erg
N P Vtr -Pers -Agr

'From her bloody state, it says' (EW Tareng 114)

waibarimö ama'nomi sa'ne ega'nonggadong beng
waiba -imö ama'nomi sa'ne ega'nongga -dong beng
house -Aug beautiful Emph harrass -Fut Neg
N -NInfl N Prtcl Vtr -T/A2 Neg

'The state that will not harass the big house's beauty' (EW Tareng 115)

nigaang sa'ne bek urö dö,
3S- say -Pres Emph QP 1Sp Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl Pro Prtcl

kambari'kong, kambari'kong dö taiya
kambarik -gong kambarik -gong dö ta -i -ya
wasp -tribe wasp -tribe Emph say -3 -Erg
N -Nsfx N -Nsfx Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr

'Am I saying this the wasps, the wasps, it says' (EW Tareng 116)

nigaang sa'ne bek urö dö chibirik taiya
n- ka -ang sa'ne bek urö dö chibirik ta -i -ya
3S- say -Pres Emph QP 1Sp Emph insect say -3 -Erg
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl Pro Prtcl N Vtr -Pers -Agr

'Am I saying this, chibirik(type of insect), it says' (EW Tareng 117)

nigadai ne go
n- ka -dai ne ko
3S- say -Past particularly Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl

'So he said, (EW Tareng 118)
chibirik kirōro mīgī nīgadai
chibirik kirō -rö mīgī n- ka -dai
insect.Sp 3Sg.Anim -Cop? Hes 3S- say -Past
N Pro -? Prtcl Pers- Vintr -T/A1

ne, mīgī ganang ānik rō namo be
ne mīgī kanang ānik rō namo pe
particularly this again who Emph Uncrtnty like
Prtcl Pro Adv? WH Prtcl Prtcl P

urō damo negamadai
urō tamo n- egama -dai
1Sg uncle 3A3O- tell -Past
Pro N Pers- Vtr -T/A1

'The chibirik insect is, I do not know again, what my uncle called it' (EW Tareng 119)

seboro te'pasmaō'seng, pada
serō poro t- e'- pasma -bōdi -zeng pada
this around Adv- Detr- pass -Hab -Abs.Nzr place
Pro P ?- Intr- Vtr -Asp -Nzr N

emabī a'tai wing wing wing dawong
emabī a'tai wing wing wing ta -wong
dawn when insect.sound insect.sound insect.sound say -Nzr/Rel?
Vintr Conj? SW SW SW Vtr -nzer

nīgadai ne go
n- ka -dai ne ko
3S- say -Past particularly Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl

'It is the one that is around here at dawn, the one that says wing-wing-wing, so he said' (EW Tareng 120)

imīnibing nō kirōro
i- mīng -bing nō kirō -rö
3- blood -Priv Emph 3Sg.Anim -Cop?
Pers- N -NDER Prtcl Prtcl Pro -?

'He is the one who does not have any blood' (EW Tareng 121)

nīgadai ne go
n- ka -dai ne ko
3S- say -Past particularly Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl

'So he said' (EW Tareng 122)

mīgī na'kō e'kang ebodori be na'kō
mīgī na'kō e'kang ebodori pe na'kō
Hes maybe wasp giant-size like maybe
Prtcl Adv N N P Adv

'Maybe, it is a giant-sized marabunta(wasp)' (EW Tareng 123)
kambarik taiya ning mörö kangzu'paik pök e'kang
kambarik ta -i -ya ning mörö kangzu'paik pök e'kang
wasp say -3 -Erg Emph A.I.? wasp about wasp
N Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl ? N P N

'It says kambarik, it says that about the kangzu'paik' (EW Tareng 124)

kangzu'paik kîrîrô  aa'munaganing
kangzu'paik kîrô -rô a- a'munaga -ning
wasp 3Sg.Anim -Cop? 2- dry -A.Nzr
N Pro -? Pers- Vtr -Nzr

rô pîzerô ta dok a
rô pliz -rô ta tok ya
Emph this.Anim -Emph say 3P1 Erg
Prtcl Pro -Prtcl Vtr Pro P

'This kangzu'paik is the one who really dries you up, so they say' (EW Tareng 125)

kambarik aa'munaganing rô ta'pî
kambarik a- a'munaga -ning rô ta -'pî
wasp 2- dry -A.Nzr Emph say -Past
N Pers- Vtr -Nzr Prtcl Vtr -T/A2
tok a e'kang, kambarik ta sa'ne ji migî tareng word a
tok ya e'kang kambarik ta sa'ne ji migî tareng word ya
3P1 Erg wasp wasp say Emph Emph Hes ritual.blowing word Erg
Pro P N N Vtr Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl N P

'The wasp is the one that would really dry you up, so they say. It is called kambarik in tareng vocabulary' (EW Tareng 126)

kangzu'paik kuning ji idezek kîrîrô, kangzu'paik
kangzu'paik kuru ning ji i- ezek kîrô -rô kangzu'paik
wasp Emph Emph Emph 3- name 3Sg.Anim -Cop? wasp
N Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pers- N Pro -? N

'The real name for this wasp is kangzu'paik' (EW Tareng 127)

migî rô bek enning bennô amô
migî rô bek ene -ning beng -nô amô
Hes Emph QP see -A.Nzr Neg -Emph 2SgQ
Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl V -Nzr Neg -Prtcl Pro?

'Have you not seen (hesitation)?' (EW Tareng 128)

se ji nairubô, se ku ji i'nairong idezek?
serô ji nairubô serô kuru ji i'nairô -ng i- ezek
this Emph which.one this Emph Emph true -Nzr 3- name
Pro Prtcl Pro? Pro Prtcl Prtcl N -Nzr Pers- N

'This one, I do not know which one, this is the true name for it' (EW Tareng 129)
Ewaik, kambarik tazai'ya
Ewaik kambarik ta -zak -i -ya
Yes wasp say -Perf -3 -Erg
Prtcl? N Vtr -T/A1 -Pers -Agr

na'nek i'nairong idezek kambarik
nai -nek i'nairô -ng i- ezek kambarik
3.be.Pres -Rel true -Nzr 3- name wasp
Vintr -Rel N -Nzr Pers- N N

'Yes it has said kambarik, this is it's true name' (EW Tareng 130)

E'tane ji kangzu'paik
E'tane ji kangzu'paik
But Emph wasp
Prtcl? Prtcl N

'But then kangzu'paik?' (EW Tareng 131)

Kangzu'paik sa'ne ji e'tane mîgi mörô go, se gaza ning ji
Kangzu'paik sa'ne ji e'tane mîgi mörô ko serô kaza ning ji
Wasp Emph Emph although Hes that Emph this like Emph Emph
N Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl? Prtcl Dem Prtcl Prtcl Pro P Prtcl Prtcl

Mîgi ka'pong be gaza ji stori be gaza
Mîgi ka'pong pe kaza ji stori pe kaza
This person like like Emph story like like
Pro N P PPrtcl N P P

Imboigauya a'tai mörô na'nek
I- emboiga -u -ya a'tai mörô nai -nek
3- reveal -l -Erg when that 3.be.Pres -Rel
Pers- Vtr -Pers -Agr Conj? Dem Vintr -Rel

Au ji yeba'ka mörô
Yau ji y- eba'ka mörô
In Emph 3- come.out Put
P Prtcl Pers- Vintr Prtcl?

'Although it is kangzu'paik, if I explain it in the form of a story, it
will reveal it in this way' (EW Tareng 132)

Kangzu'paik na'nek ning ji,
Kangzu'paik nai -nek ning ji
Wasp 3.be.Pres -Rel Emph Emph
N Vintr -Rel Prtcl Prtcl

Tareng eji gwai ne go
Tareng eji u- ka -i ne ko
Ritual. blowing be 1- say -RPst particularly Emph
N V Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl

'Kangzu'paik is the one that is in the tareng as I (already) said' (EW
Tareng 133)
mīgī rō egamadane rō
mīgī rō egama -dane rō
this Emp tell -while Emp
Pro Prtcl Vtr -T/A2? Prtcl

'It is so while it is told' (EW Tareng 134)

idezek rō eji, idezek rō e'to'pe ji ibona
i- ezek rō eji i- ezek rō eji -do'pe ji i- pona
3- name Emph be 3- name Emph be -Deontic Emph 3- onto
Pers- N Prtcl V Pers- N Prtcl V -Vinfl Prtcl Pers- P

'It is just it's name, it is inevitable that it has a name of it's own'
(EW Tareng 135)

saro bōk rō bek mīgī bek mengyang
saro pōk rō bek mīgī bek mī- ene -ang
giant.otter WRT Emph QP this QP 2A- see -Pres
N P Prtcl Prtcl Pro Prtcl Pers- V -T/A1

mabarua, mabarua tazaikya bra ji
mabarua mabarua ta -zak -i -ya bra eji
otter otter say -Perf -3 -Erg Neg be
N N Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Neg V

Do you see it happening to the giant otter? It has not said this about the small otter. (EW Tareng 136)

nīgaang sa'ne bek urō go mabaruwagong
n- ka -ang sa'ne bek urō ko mabarua -gong
3S- say -Pres Emph QP 1Sg Emph otter -tribe
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl Pro Prtcl N -Nsfx

tazai'ya bra ji
ta -zak -i -ya bra y- eji
say -Perf -3 -Erg Neg 3- be
Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Neg Pers- Vintr

'That's why it has not said clearly 'have I said this', me the water-dog (EW Tareng 137)

tigingjarong ama'nomī tazai'ya,
tigingjarōng -ng ama'nomī ta -zak -i -ya
alone -Nzr beautiful say -Perf -3 -Erg
Adv -Nzr N Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr

mörō gaza eza'saikya na'nek
mörō kaza ezagi -zak -i -ya nai -nek
that like name -Perf -3 -Erg 3.Aux -Rel
Dem P Vtr -T/A2 -Pers -Agr Aux -Rel

'Instead it says, the only beautiful one, that is how it has called it!' (EW Tareng 138)
idezek rō eji special name for it mōrō gaza
i- ezek rō eji mōrō kaza
3- name Emph be that like
Pers N Prtcl V Dem P

'It has it's own name, a special name for it, like that' (EW Tareng 139)

ō’rō tugaiī ezagīauya mīgaang
ō’rō tugaiī ezagī -au -ya mī- ka -ang
what like name -2 -Erg 2A- say -Pres
WH P Vtr -Pers -Agr Pers- Vintr -T/A1

'Can you say how you will call it? (EW Tareng 140)

tigingjarong ama'nomi

tigingjarō -ng ama'nomi
alone -Nzr beautiful
Adv -Nzr N

'The only beautiful one (EW Tareng 141)

16. RK Tareng
16a. RK Tareng1, for Diarrhoea

ka’pongōrī ega’nungga kwazugurimō uya
ka’pong -nōrī ega’nungga kwazugurimō ya
person -?? harass diarrhoea Erg
N -?? Vtr N P

'The diarrhoea is harassing a type of a person' (RK Tareng1 001)

ega’nunggaiya sa’ne mō dó
ega’nungga -i -ya sa’ne mōrō dó
harrass -3 -Erg Emph Fut Emph
Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl Prtcl? Prtcl

'It will really seriously harass him' (RK Tareng1 002)

i’nō’panggauya za’ne mō dó
i’nō’pamī -ga -u -ya sa’ne mōrō dó
cool.down -Caus -1 -Erg Emph A.I.? Emph
Vintr -Vder -Pers -Agr Prtcl Prtcl? Prtcl

'It will seriously make him cold' (RK Tareng1 003)

urō berō eji’ma kwazugurimō,
urō pe -rō eji -i’ma kwazugurimō
1Sg like -Emph be While diarrhoea
Pro P -Prtc1 Vintr -? N
i'nô'panggauya  
za'ne mô  
dô
i'nô'pamî -ga -u -ya sa'ne môrô dô
cool.down -Caus -1 -Erg Emph Fut Emph
Vintr -Vder -Pers -Agr Prtcl Prtcl? Prtcl

'While I am being myself, I will cool it down' (RK Taregl 004)

benggabôk  
za'ne e'aik  
tô
ebengga -bôk sa'ne eji -aik dô
abondon -Prog Emph be -Pres Emph
Vtr -T/A2 Prtcl Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl

'I am abandoning it myself' (RK Taregl 005)

rô berô  
eji'ma
urô pe -rô eji -i'ma
1Sg like -Emph be -While
Pro P -Prtcl Vintr -?

'While I am being myself' (RK Taregl 006)

ii'nôdambôk  
za'ne e'aik  
tô
i- ki'nôdambî -bôk sa'ne eji -aik dô
3- make.paste -Prog Emph be -Pres Emph
Pers- Vtr -T/A2 Prtcl Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl

'I am mixing it into a paste myself' (RK Taregl 007)

rô berô  
eji'ma
urô pe -rô eji -i'ma
1Sg like -Emph be -While
Pro P -Prtcl Vintr -?

'While I am like myself' (RK Taregl 008)

arauta bajî  
gong dô
warauta paji  
gong dô
baboon elder.sister Pl Emph
N N  
sfx Prtcl

'As the big sister of the baboon' (RK Taregl 010)

nîgaang  
za'ne bek  
urô dô  
iwarang
n- ka -ang sa'ne bek urô dô iwarang
3S- say -Pres Emph QP 1Sg Emph sloth
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pro Prtcl N

go
ko
Emph
Prtcl

'I am really saying this now as the sloth' (RK Taregl 011)
Igaang za'ne bek urō dō
n- ka -ang sa'ne bek urō dō
3S- say -Pres Emph QP 1Sg Emph
Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl Prtcl Prtcl Pro Prtcl

'I am really saying this now' (RK Tareng1 09)

16b. RK Tareng2, for fast delivery of a baby

Anjik ka'kramui ya ega'nongga
manjik ka'krang -i ya ega'nongga
girl stranger -Psd Erg harass
N N -Ninfl P Vtr

'The visitor of the girl is seriously harassing her' (RK Tareng2 001)

Iinīkaiya sa'ne mō dō
i- ming -ga -i -ya sa'ne mōrō dō
3- blood -Remove -3 -Erg Emph Fut Emph
Pers- N -Vder -Pers -Agr Prtcl Prtcl? Prtcl

'It will be taking away too much blood from her' (RK Tareng2 002)

A'kraimūdībe sa'ne emai'paiya sa'ne
a'kraimud -be sa'ne emai'pa -i -ya sa'ne
white -Attr Emph transform -3 -Erg Emph
N -Azr Prtcl Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl

Mō dō
mōrō dō
Fut Emph
Prtcl? Prtcl

'It will make her very pale' (RK Tareng2 003)

Iaga'ta'mouya sa'ne mō go
i- naga'ta'mo -u -ya sa'ne mōrō ko
3- hit.on.head -1 -Erg Emph Fut Emph
Pers- Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl Prtcl? Prtcl

'I will really hit it on its head' (RK Tareng2 004)

Rō berō eji'ma
urō pe -rō eji -i'ma
1Sg like -Emph be -While
Pro P -Prtcl Vintr -?

'While I am like myself' (RK Tareng2 005)

Kereubauya sa'ne mō go
i'kereuba -u -ya sa'ne mōrō ko
make.slippery -1 -Erg Emph Fut Emph
Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl Prtcl? Prtcl

'I will really make it slippery' (RK Tareng2 006)
I will shift it into position' (RK Tareng2 007)

While I am like myself' (RK Tareng2 008)

'I am saying this myself' (RK Tareng2 009)

'The sister of the ones with flickering lights' (RK Tareng2 010)

'The sister of the candleflies' (RK Tareng2 011)
Part IV. Praising Rhymes

17. CW Praising Rhymes
17a. CW Male Praising Rhymes

warawok ri'kwô dauya
warawok ri'kwô ta -u -ya tugu'ruji ne'ning dauya
boy Dim say -1 -Erg hummingbird bring -A.Nzr say -1 -Erg
N Adv? Vtr -Pers -Agr N Vtr -Nzr Vtr -Pers -Agr

Little cute boy, I say, one who brings hummingbird [for meat], I say (CW Praising Rhymes <001.000>)

aburôuya
mígí
aburo -u -ya mígí
praise -1 -Erg Hes
Vtr -Pers -Agr Prtcl

I praise him, uh... (CW Praising Rhymes <000.000>)

yiodoribök
ri'kwô aburôuya
môrô
i- yodori pôk ri'kwô aburo -u -ya môrô
3- game about Dim praise -1 -Erg Fut

I will praise him about his game (CW. Praising Rhymes <005.990>)

egebe jiemo'kazak a'rai ri'kwô ingu'tong
egi -be i- semo'ka -zak a'rai ri'kwô i- n- kubi -dong
big -Attr 3- grow.up -Perf when Dim 3- O.Nzr- do -Fut

bôk aburôuya
môrô gaza
pôk aburo -u -ya môrô gaza
about praise -1 -Erg that like
P Vtr -Pers -Agr Dem P

When she are grown up big, like that I praise her about what she will do. (CW. Praising Rhymes <007.640>)

e'tane ji aigobe ri'kwô ji ibe
e'tane ji aigo -be ri'kwô ji i- pe
however Emph small -Attr Dim Emph 3- like

ri'kwô aburôuya
ri'kwô aburo -u -ya
Dim praise -1 -Erg
Adv? Vtr -Pers -Agr

However, I am praising him as the small thing that he is (CW. Praising Rhymes <010.440>)
Cute little boy, one who brings hummingbirds, one who brings cute little sama'rudu birds, one who shoots red brocket deer, I really say! (CW Praising Rhymes <012.860>)

Where are the cute little feet that are the instrument with which you bring deer, I say (CW Praising Rhymes <017.800>)

This is how I would praise a boy child when he is small (CW. Praising Rhymes <020.600>)

While a boy is small (like a mire). (CW Praising Rhymes <024.000>)

After that, again concerning the cute little thing from which he
urinates, (CW Praising Rhymes <025.590>)

nai ri'kwö nai ri'kwö migi
nai ri'kwö nai ri'kwö migi
where Dim where Dim Hes

'Where is it, where is it, uh...' (CW. Praising Rhymes <029.280>)

sama'rudu pudu ri'kwö dauya
sama'rudu pudu ri'kwö ta -u -ya
bird(Sp) beak Dim say -1 -Erg
N N Adv? Vtr -Pers -Agr

the sama'rudu bird's beak, I say(CW. Praising Rhymes <031.640>)

pa'wiji pudu ri'kwö dauya
pa'wiji pudu ri'kwö ta -u -ya
powis beak Dim say -1 -Erg
N N Adv? Vtr -Pers -Agr

cute little powis' beak, I say(CW. Praising Rhymes <033.400>)

migï gaza ri'kwö aburñuya
migï kaza ri'kwö aburô -u -ya
this like Dim praise -1 -Erg
Pro P Adv? Vtr -Pers -Agr

like this, I praise him(CW. Praising Rhymes <035.100>)

warawok pe ri'kwö ganang ji bök mörô gaza
warawok pe ri'kwö kanang y- eji pök mörô kaza
boy like Dim again 3- be from that like

again, because he is a boy, like that(CW. Praising Rhymes <036.530>)

mörô gaza ri'kwö aburøning urô
mörô kaza ri'kwö aburô -ning urô
that like Dim praise -A.Nzr 1Sg
Dem P Adv? Vtr -Nzr Pro

That is how I praise him(CW Praising Rhymes <042.620>)

tamboro tok kaijarõ'ne tok
tamboro tok kaijarô -'ne tok
all 3PL in.number -Indiv 3PL
Adv Pro P -Num Pro

aburñuya mörô kuaija'ne
aburô -u -ya mörô u- ka -i sa'ne
praise -1 -Erg A.I.? 1- say -RPst Emph
Vtr -Pers -Agr ? Pers- Vintr -T/A1 Prtcl

''I praise them all each one in number,' I said (really!).' (CW Praising Rhymes <044.160>)
A different one again, I praise differently again (CW. Praising Rhymes <046.910>)

aneji egamak
ane ji egama -gō
wait.Imp Emph tell -Imper
Vintr.Imp Prtcl Vtr -T/A

wait! Tell me... (CW. Praising Rhymes <051.190>)

warawok ri'kwō dauya ganang warawok ri'kwō
warawok ri'kwō ta -u -ya kanang warawok ri'kwō
boy Dim say -1 -Erg again boy Dim
cute little boy, I say again, cute little boy (CW. Praising Rhymes <051.800>)

yiok ri'kwō maning dauya
i- ok ri'kwō ma -ning ta -u -ya
3- meat Dim catch -A.Nrz say -1 -Erg
catcher of cute little meat, I say (CW. Praising Rhymes <054.270>)

yabio'pe ri'kwō te'tong
y- abiyok -be ri'kwō t- eji -dong
1- errand.boy -Attr Dim T- be -Fut

'One who will be my cute little errand boy.' (CW. Praising Rhymes <055.910>)

warawok ri'kwō dauya
warawok ri'kwō ta -u -ya
boy Dim say -1 -Erg
N Adv? Vtr -Pers -Agr
cute little boy, I say (CW. Praising Rhymes <057.670>)

warawok ri'kwō, warawokpe ri'kwō ayeji
warawok ri'kwō warawok -be ri'kwō a- eji
boy Dim boy -Attr Dim 2- be

aye'sak ri'kwō warawokpe dauya
a- yebi -zak ri'kwō warawok -be ta -u -ya
2- come -Perf Dim boy -Attr say -1 -Erg
Pers- Vint -T/A2 Adv? N -Azr Vtr -Pers -Agr
cute little boy, you are a cute little boy, you come as a boy, I say (CW. Praising Rhymes <060.250>)
môrôbang
môrôbang
thereafter
N

and then... (CW. Praising Rhymes <063.550>)

yok rî'kwô boganing giu'pô gau
y- ok rî'kwô poga -ning giu'pô kau
1- meat Dim shoot -A.Nzr pond in.water
Pers- N Adv? Vtr -Nzr N P

rî'kwô warak rî'kwô boganing dauya
rî'kwô warak rî'kwô poga -ning ta -u -ya
Dim yarau.fish Dim shoot -A.Nzr say -1 -Erg

the one who will shoot my cute little meat, in the pond the one who
will shoot cute little yarau fish, I say. (CW. Praising Rhymes
<064.600>)

korwak rî'kwô boganing dauya
korwak rî'kwô poga -ning ta -u -ya
patwa.fish Dim shoot -A.Nzr say -1 -Erg
N Adv? Vtr -Nzr Vtr -Pers -Agr

the shooter of cute little patwa fish, I say(CW Praising Rhymes
<067.570>)

môrô gaza rî'kwô
môrô kaza rî'kwô
that like Dim
Dem P Adv?

the cute little thing like that(CW Praising Rhymes <068.880>

17b. CW Female Praising Rhymes

môrô gazarô uri'chang rî'kwô aburôuya a'tai
môrô kaza -rô uri'chang rî'kwô aburô -u -ya a'tai
that like -Emph female Dim praise -1 -Erg when
Dem P -Prtc1 N Adv? Vtr -Pers -Agr Conj?

It is also like that when I praise a cute girl. (CW.Praising Rhymes
<071.960>)

uri'chang ganang aburôuya  ganang
uri'chang kanang aburô -u -ya kanang
female again praise -1 -Erg again

I am again praising a girl again(CW. Praising Rhymes <073.380>)
aneji egamak urı'chang
ane ji egama -k urı'chang
wait.Imp Empth tell -Style female
Vintr.Imp Prtcll Vtr -? N

Wait! Tell about girls (CW. Praising Rhymes <074.970>)

urı'chang rı'kwö urı'chang rı'kwö ganang dauya
urı'chang rı'kwö urı'chang rı'kwö kanang ta -u -ya
female Dim female Dim again say -1 -Erg

cute little girl, cute little girl, again I say(CW. Praising Rhymes <079.480>)

sama'ong rı'kwö bek amöl sama'ong rı'kwö dauya
sama'ong rı'kwö bek amöl sama'ong rı'kwö ta -u -ya
pretty Dim QP 2sgQ pretty Dim say -1 -Erg

Are you a little cutie-pie, are you pretty? I say. (CW.Praising Rhymes <081.120>)

sama'ong dauya ganang mörö urı'chang bök
sama'ong ta -u -ya kanang mörö urı'chang pök
pretty say -1 -Erg again Fut female to

You are pretty, I would say again to the girl(CW Praising Rhymes <083.600>)

ama'ong rı'kwö dauya
ama'ong rı'kwö ta -u -ya
pretty Dim say -1 -Erg
N Adv? Vtr -Pers -Agr

'little pretty one,' I say. (CW.Praising Rhymes <085.740>)

yabiyok rı'kwö dauya
y- abiyok rı'kwö ta -u -ya
l- errand.boy Dim say -1 -Erg

sawa'waru koneganing dauya
sawa'waru konega -ning ta -u -ya
toasted.cassava.bread.drink make -A.Nzr say -1 -Erg
N Vtr -Nzr Vtr -Pers -Agr

'My little errand-runner,' I say, 'cassava drink maker,' I say. (CW Praising Rhymes <087.990>)

tinanggudazeng
t- nangguda -zeng
Adv- produce.beverage -Abs.Nzr
?- Vintr -Nzr
'One who produces beverages, one who (always) has beverages, I say'
(CW. Praising Rhymes <090.570>)

'tigingba'ne tok aburôuya môrô
At one的话 - bart -的 -kne to aburô -u -ya môrô
one -Compar -Indiv 3Pl praise -1 -Erg that
Num -A infl - Num Pro Vtr - Pers - Agr Dem

gaza tuvonôbe'ne turonôbe'ne
kaza tuvonô -be -'ne tuvonô -be -'ne
like another -Attr -Indiv another -Attr - Indiv
P N - Azr - Num N - Azr - Num

pîze ganang tuvonô gaza môrô gaza tok
this. Anim again another like that like 3Pl
Pro Adv? N P Dem P Pro

aburôuya môrô
aburô -u -ya môrô
praise -1 -Erg Fut
Vtr -Pers - Agr Prtcl?

'One by one I praise them like that, everyone differently. This one
again will be different like that, I would praise them' (CW Praising
Rhymes <094.800>)

uri'chang amôk pe rî'kwô tok eji a'tai
uri'chang amôk pe rî'kwô tok eji a'tai
female Pl like Dim 3Pl be if
N Num P Adv? Pro V Conj?

if they are cute little girls(CW Praising Rhymes <099.850>)

urî'chang aburôuya
aburô kanang aburô -u -ya urî'chang -be
another again praise -1 -Erg woman -Attr
N Adv? Vtr - Pers - Agr N - Azr

uri'changbe

urî'chang a'tai
kanang y- eji a'tai
again 3- be when
Adv? Pers- V Conj?

'i will praise another one once it is a girl again' (CW Praising
Rhymes <101.610>)

uri'chang rî'kwô tautya simoineridong
uri'chang rî'kwô ta -u -ya simoinerî -dong
woman Dim say -1 -Erg handsome man Pl
N Adv? Vtr - Pers - Agr N - Nsfx
guarambô'to'odong  iwenai  dauya
kuaramî -bôdi -do'odong i- wenai ta -u -ya
cry -Iter -Fut 3- because say -l -Erg
Vintr -Asp -T/A2? Pers - P Vtr -Pers -Agr

'Cute little girl,' I say, 'One for whom handsome men will cry,' I say. (CW Praising Rhymes <105.130>)

simoinerîdông  garambabô'tong  tauya  ganang
simoinerî -dong karamba -bôdi -dong ta -u -ya kanang
handsome.man -Pl make.cry -Iter -Subj.Nzr say -l -Erg again
N -Nsfx Vtr -Asp -Nzr Vtr -Pers -Agr Adv?

'One who will make handsome men cry,' I say again. (CW Praising Rhymes <107.930>)

uri'chang bôk ri'kwô ganang
uri'chang pôk ri'kwô kanang
female to Dim again
N P Adv? Adv?

again to a cute little girl(CW Praising Rhymes <110.070)

môrô gaza aburôuya  ganang
môrô kaza aburô -u -ya kanang
that like praise -l -Erg again
Dem P Vtr -Pers -Agr Adv?
Like that, I praise her again (CW. Praising Rhymes <111.220>)

môrô gazarô  tok aburôning  urô môrô gaza  uri'chang amôk ri'kwô
môrô kaza -rô tok aburô -ning urô môrô kaza uri'chang amôk
ri'kwô
that like -Emph 3Pl praise -A.Nzr 1Sg that like woman Pl Dim
Dem P -Prtc1 Pro Vtr -Nzr Pro Dem P N Num Adv?

Like that, I am one who praises them, like that, all the little women.  
(CW Praising Rhymes <114.190>)

18. RK Praising Rhymes
18a. RK Female Praising Rhymes

aigo ri'kwô rô  yama'nomirîi  ri'kwô
aigo ri'kwô rô y- ama'nomî -ri ri'kwô
small Dim Emph 1- beautiful -Psd Dim

'Oh my cute little beauty' (RK Female Praising Rhymes 001)

tînzen'kenang  ri'kwô
t- mîzek -ge -nang ri'kwô
Adv- long.hair -Posd -Nzr Dim
?- N -Azr -Nzr Adv?

'One with long hair' (RK Female Praising Rhymes 002)
'The one that do not say daddy or mummy' (RK Female Praising Rhymes 003)

öri ri'kwö teringgenang
öri ri'kwö t- ering -ge -nang
Bad Dim Adv- pot -Posd -Nzr
N Adv? ?- N -Azr -Nzr

'The little bad one with her own pot' (RK Female Praising Rhymes 004)

tinanggunenang
t- nanggu -ge -nang
Adv- beverage -Posd -Nzr
?- N -Azr -Nzr

'One with her own drink' (RK Female Praising Rhymes 005)

aigo ri'kwö rö mida'nari
aigo ri'kwö rö mida'na -ri
small Dim Emph food.server -Psd
N Adv? Prtcl N -Ninfl

'The little one who is my giver and server of food' (RK Female Praising Rhymes 006)

tibidong ri'kwö rö mida'nabaning
t- pi -dong ri'kwö rö mida'na -ba -ning
3.Rfl- younger.brother -Pl Dim Emph food.server -Caus -A.Nzr
Pers- N -Nsfx Adv? Prtcl N -VDer -Nzr

'The one who serve food to her little brothers' (RK Female Praising Rhymes 007)

yama'nomiri...
y- ama'nomi -ri
l- beautiful -Psd
Pers- N -Ninfl

'My little beauty' (RK Female Praising Rhymes 008)

Sodou! Sodou! Sodou!
Sodou Sodou Sodou
boing boing boing
SW SW SW

'Sodou! Sodou! Sodou!
'Sodou! describes the up and down movement of the baby to the rhythm of the praising rhyme. (RK Female Praising Rhymes 009)
18b. RK Male Praising Rhymes

Aigo ri'kwö samoineri ri'kwö
Aigo ri'kwö samoineri ri'kwö
small Dim handsome.man Dim
N Adv? N Adv?

'You small cute handsome one' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 001)

a'chang amök ewangdong i'kwö'tong
a'chang amök ewang -dong i'kwödi -dong
woman Pl heart -Pl break -Fut
N Num N -Nsfx Vtr -T/A2

'The one who will break the hearts of the woman' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 002)

samoinerirö
samoineri -rö
handsome.man -Emph
N -Prtcl

'Handsome one' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 003)

samanunggö ri'kwö
sa- manumí -gö ri'kwö
2Imp- dance -Imper Dim
Pers- Vintr -T/A Adv?

'Dance you cute little thing' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 004)

azang mianungbak
a- sang i- manumí -ba -gö
2- mother Imp- dance -Caus -Imper
Pers- N Pers?- Vintr -VDer -T/A

'Dance with your mother' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 005)

aburöiya dane
aburö -i -ya dane
praise -3 -Erg while
Vtr -Pers -Agr conj?

'While she is praising you' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 006)

adabergagö diiwano'pe
a- d- aberga -gö i- iwanok pe
2- Detr- make.perform -Imper 3- own like
Pers- Intr- Vtr -T/A Pers- N P

'Show off, for her' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 007)
'Oh you cute, small but big one' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 008)

maiburi wōning
maiburi wōnō -ning
tapir kill -A.Nzr
N Vtr -Nzr

'One who kills the tapir' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 009)

egeri'pī yok poganing
ege -ri'pī y- ok poga -ning
big -Past.Psn l- meat shoot -A.Nzr
N -NTns Pers- N Vtr -Nzr

'The one who kill the big one for my meat' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 010)

egeri'pī yok maning
ege -ri'pī y- ok ma -ning
big -Past.Psn l- meat catch -A.Nzr
N -NTns Pers- N Vtr -Nzr

'The one who fish the big one for my meat' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 011)

warawoji rō
warawok -i rō
boy -Psd Emph
N -Ninfl Prtcl

'A real man' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 012)

samoineri rō
simoineri rō
handsome.man Emph
N Prtcl

'The handsome one' (RK Male Praising Rhymes 013)

ɪm, ɪm, ɪm, ɪm
ɪm ɪm ɪm ɪm
um um um um
Hes Hes Hes Hes

'ɪm, ɪm, ɪm, ɪm' (rhythmic sound produced at the end of some rhymes)
(RK Male Praising Rhymes 014)